ECLECTIC REVIEW

FOR NOVEMBER, 1847.

ART. I .- Prospectus of the Anti-Bribery Society. London. 1847.

2. Tracts of the Anti-Bribery Society. No. I.

3. Illustrations of the General Election of 1847.

The Anti-Bribery Society has been established to agitate for purity of election. Many shrewd observers of the times anticipate for this association a more immediate success than is likely to attend the labours of any other of the agitations of the day, for moral, economical, or political objects. Undoubtedly this is a reform which once effected will be favourable to all others of a truly beneficent kind, just because parliamentary and electoral corruption are the chief obstacles in the representative system itself to the triumphs of truth and right.

The people is the legislature. The law-making functions of king, lords, and commons, are delegated to them by the people. Parliamentary corruption has been the chief means by which oligarchical factions and sinister interests have usurped, and used, and perverted the legislative trust committed to them by the people. By the frauds of the electioneering agents, by bribery, treating, intimidation, and corruption, the vile and debased portion of the electors have been made traitors to the cause of progress and the people. When, therefore, a society is started devoted to the destruction of this system of demoralization, its object accords with the genius of the constitution of every free people. The object of the Anti-Bribery Society is to restore to the people their own share of their own work.

Were the system of evil which this society attacks, destroyed, there would be less necessity for agitation. The superior intelligence of Parliament, and the superior accordance between the people and their representatives would make it unnecessary for earnest and patriotic men to combine, subscribe, write and talk on behalf of noble and indispensable reforms. In so far as it is an agitating society, this is an agitation the success of which by destroying the necessities will tend to prevent the perturbations of agitation.

Of the necessity for seeking the attainment of purity of election by association, we can say nothing better than what is

already said in the prospectus before us.

'It is now a well-established fact, that no real legislation can be done otherwise than by the agitation of societies. In these days, the legislature is not the legislature. The houses of parliament have become offices of registration. All the most important laws are made by the people themselves. A few men make up their minds that a particular wrong shall be redressed, or a specific good deed done, and by combination and agitation, by contributions of money and mind, effect their object. When a member of parliament tries to accomplish any public object by his own labour in the House of Commons, he is coughed down, or the House is counted out. When a journalist takes up a subject, and makes it his hobby, he certainly has what the member has not-the opportunity of stating his case. can spread his opinion. He can make those who agree with him already, more in earnest. He can combat and refute the objections of those who differ from him. But the impressions and convictions he produces are scattered, and evanescent, and unknown to him. He knows not his disciples, and they do not know him. The man who can merely subscribe money in favour of his opinion is powerless. But form a society; combine the labours of the journalist in the press, of the member in parliament, of orators on platforms, with the money of the subscribers; work with pens and tongues in journals, pulpits, platforms, and a legislative power is created by the combination which is irresistible on the side of right.'

We have heard it said, there is something sacred in the principle of association, and the use of it on unworthy occasions is an evil which ought to be discountenanced and denounced. But association cannot be evoked more beneficently than for the suppression of flagrant immorality. The evils of the electoral system pollute the wellspring of British morality. They poison the issues of life. They gangrene the soul of the state. They infect the blood of the heart.

Never was a society for the establishment of purity of election more needful than now—and never could the success of such an agitation have been likely to be so helpful to other and remoter reforms in church and state. The general election of 1847, was a saturnalia of bribery, treating, intimidation, nomination, and corruption. What it may have been in comparison with other general elections is known only to omniscience; we like not the writers who are dogmatic in their assertions respecting the unknown. Every man generalises his own small experience and maintains it is universal, when in fact his testimony is often of as much value as would be the evidence of a fly respecting the comparative size of St. Paul's and St. Peter's.

The following is a very condensed, and according to the opinion of persons practically acquainted with the subject, a very subdued statement of the evils of the representative system

which displayed themselves during the general election.

'Various contests have thrown a hideous light upon the nomination abuse. Lord Stanley explained this system in the House of Commons once, when he frankly said, that Whig or Tory acres were just Whig or Tory votes in the counties. Let a map be made of the island according to the estates of the four-and-twenty thousand proprietors who own it, and colour the estates according to the politics of the landlords. You will discover in this way the character of the votes of the tenants. The acres will tell you without asking the men, the tenants, or thinking of them, or acknowledging their existence. They are merely the voting machines of their farms. They are not men—they are tools. The treating and bribery practices make the lowest description of publicans and lawyers powerful in reference to

the legislature.

'The Reform Act increased the squeezibility of the legislature; but it has, at the same time, increased the evils of bribery, corruption, and intimidation, which under it have assumed worse shapes than ever they did in the days of the boroughmongers. Before the Reform Act, the corrupt were a small class in the small boroughs, generally well-off men of the corporation, who managed their corruption through an agent, for a fixed price, according to an ancient, hereditary, systematic, and well-known plan. Now, the corrupt are increased to hundreds and thousands. They swill in taverns, they march in processions, and sell their souls, and glory in their shame. The rich man who buys a ten-pound house, in a small borough, just buys a ten-pound vote. The system makes a man—an immortal spirit the degraded mouth-piece, or voting machine, of a ten-pound house. It is an outrage against man—the image of God—to allow the vote to be a mere political chattel, or fixture of a house—a thing which is puffed, bought, and sold by the auctioneer. Yet it is notorious that, if the proprietor of the ten-pound houses rats, the tenants change their politics, the men all the while being voting utensils. The system tends to exclude from the legislature all the men of ability in the country who are not very rich. Every man whose moral feelings revolt against the practices of the lowest class of attorneys, who will not spend many hundreds of pounds in bribing and treating, in debauching the electors into soulless drunkards, is deterred from entering the House of Commons. The attorneys, in many large burghs, make sure that scarcely any man shall get in without paying black mail to them. Their traffic in seats is notorious. Cliques do what the boroughmongers did. The House of Commons is thus made a club of rich men by the present system, when it ought to be a work-

shop for the people.

'It must never be forgotten that it is the legal expenses which cause and protect the illegal. The man who comes forward professedly to serve his country, gratuitously, is confronted at the first step with a demand for two or three hundred pounds for hustings' expenses. He is treated as if he sought admission into a fashionable club, and were to receive a great benefit. Some constituencies sell themselves for donations to their charities. Many electors charge candidates with their travelling expenses. Now, we submit that the true theory of the constitution ought to be, that every candidate is seeking not his own, but the public interest. Candidates ought to be taken at their word, and care taken to keep their conduct close to it. The expenses ought to fall upon the persons who are served gratuitously, and not upon the men who serve gratuitously. To devolve registration expenses upon members is a great meanness. A constituency once told their member that he had sold them, and his just retort was, 'Well, if I have sold you, did I not buy you?' Corruption among the electors, naturally begets venality and time-serving among the members.'

Mr. W. J. Fox, the new member for Oldham, and a reformerwho has rendered great services to the people in regard to free trade, surprises us by declaring that he looks for the cure of these evils to a careful management of the registration system. Good may undoubtedly be done by encouraging the formation of a numerous class of small freeholders. But this does not appear to be the meaning of Mr. Fox. He says:—

Great as were the disappointments as to the working of the Reform Bill, gross as were the absurdities and short-comings of that bill, preposterous as is the distinction of freeman and slave, as shown by the line of demarcation drawn by the rent of a man's house, and his political being rendered contingent upon unthinking materials and the accumulation of bricks and mortar—great as are the difficulties which beset the decisions, and perplexing as are the sentences of the registration courts—many as are the little boroughs which maintain their existence, and exercise that power, against which the whole country so loudly protested a few years since—infinite as is the amount of sinister influences, and direct intimidation of the soul and character-corrupting power of bribery—still, with all these mischiefs, and all

these defects, the people are making progress in their influence upon the government and the legislation of the day, and showing that, like an infant Hercules, they can, while only in their cradle of political being, strangle the enemy which threatens to sting them to death, and prey upon their very heart's blood. Let us, then, not spend our strength in unavailing regrets, but rather let us strive for the possession of our liberties and rights by the means which are already provided for us; and although the registration court is a low, dark, tortuous, and contemptible thing, yet through this, as through the shed or the workshop, the nation may yet advance till it enters the magnificent temple of liberty and public justice.'

Surely it is very unlike the course which true reformers ought to pursue or to recommend, to advance towards liberty and justice by any channel which is 'low, dark, tortuous, and contemptible.' Now Mr. Fox's description of the registration court is truthful and lifelike. Horne Tooke's reply to those who said the law was open to the people—'so is the London Tavern,' is equally applicable to those persons who say the people may seek their legislative rights in the registration courts. Is it good advice to tell them they may seek their rights among the quibbles and quiddities of the lawyers? from the contradictions and perplexities of the decisions of the revising barristers? Is it good advice to tell the people to outdo the aristocracy by trickeries and dodges? Is there not infinite demoralization in inciting the people to set up manufactories of paper voters? Can they ever be a match for the aristocracy in a conflict of this description without a frightful amount of moral degrada-Are votes won by demoralization really gains to reform? This questionable advice was received with 'loud cheers.' Who cheered it?—an assembly of paper voters and electioneering agents? What malign influence can have been at work upon him to induce this old and eloquent advocate of democracy in contradiction of his whole previous career to have any other word than one of destruction or reform towards any thing low, dark, tortuous, and contemptible?'

In truth it is not difficult to trace the source of these reprehensible sentiments. Now, that the work of the Anti-Corn-Law League is done, there cannot be any objection to stating, sorrowfully, that there is reason to fear their example has tended to increase the corruptions of the representative system. The manufacturers set up manufactories of paper voters. Their men of straw are paper voters on many a registration roll. Eloquent speeches were made on the platform at Covent Garden on the pure proceedings of the League, who required of their candidates the payment of nothing beyond the legal expenses, while,

in private, we are informed, the figure mentioned was from fif. teen to eighteen hundred pounds, to be sent to the attornies in name of treating expenses in the small public houses. Rumour does not scruple to say, that some of their well-known agents have been seen paying money for votes within sight of their own placard, proclaiming a reward of a hundred pounds for the detection of a single instance of it. Of two free trade candidates for one seat, their preferences were given to the one who would spend the largest sum. They used the system they They practised the iniquities in vogue. They employed all weapons which came to their hands. All this may not be The picture may be darkly coloured. An enemy may have whispered some of the rumours afloat. But we do fear that, in the pursuit of their end, the agents of the League were not always scrupulous about the means they employed. To whatever extent this was the case, they inflicted an injury on the cause of good government, for which no triumph of free-trade can compensate. Their connection with immoral practices was a source of danger to them, which might at any moment have damaged, if not destroyed, them. Love of their cause prevented persons possessed of the necessary evidence from making it known. After all, they owed the major part of their success to the general famine, and the Conservative premier. At all events, the conduct of the Anti-Corn-law League is an additional reason for the establishment of a society devoted to the destruction of electoral corruption.

The man who is satisfied with the Reform Act is not a true reformer. This act professes to give the franchise to a million of people. The first draft of the Reform Bill was drawn up by the late Earl of Durham, in Sudbrook House, near Richmond. His intentions were good. He would have enfranchised the towns in proportion to their intelligence, virtue, and property. He aimed at a final settlement of the representative system on a large, liberal, and popular basis. In his last days he lamented bitterly the insincerity of his colleagues. In conversation with the writer of this paper, Lord Durham said-'I would have enfranchised the people, but they did not wish it, and they would not let me.' The political unions wrung the Reform Bill from the aristocracy. But it was the Whigs who prevented the author of it from making it a reality. The ten-pound voter in boroughs enfranchised by this act finds a difficulty in apprehending the fact, that on the whole the evils of the representative system are greater than they were. Grateful for his vote, he forgets the parliamentary insignificance of all the voters in the large boroughs, compared with the voters in the small boroughs. A comparison of Marylebone and Tavistock under the Reform Act, will explain the rejection of the draft bill proposed by Lord Durham to his colleagues. There are three hundred electors in Tavistock; and were every ten-pound house to enrol a voter there would be thirty thousand in Marylebone. Yet these boroughs are equal in the House of Commons, and both return two members. For every pound of assessed taxes paid by Tavistock, the borough of Marylebone pays about £270., yet both are equal in the representative system, and both boroughs return two members. For every inhabitant of Tavistock there are nearly five hundred inhabitants of Marylebone, yet both places return two members. Tavistock is a small borough entirely under the influence of the Bedford family. Marylebone is a great metropolitan borough, in which many thousands of men of independent means, or independent professions, reside, and amenable to no influences except those of truth and justice as recommended to their reason by the press. However, the small borough of electoral serfs is equal to the great borough of free minds in Parliament. In the presence of the Reform Act every inhabitant of Tavistock is worth five hundred inhabitants of Marylebone. A hundred electors of Marylebone are only equal to one elector of Tavistock. But we shall be told, the principle of the Reform Act is a principle of property. According to this statement it would appear, that every ten-pound house in Tavistock was worth a hundred in the metropolis, and a single pound of assessed taxes paid by a dependent of the Russells, worth three hundred pounds paid by the gentry of Marylebone. A principle of property forsooth!—the real principle is property in consciences. It was to maintain property in the souls of men, that the Grey cabinet mutilated the bill of the Earl of Durham.

The borough of Tavistock has always returned a couple of nominees of the Bedford family. The motives for giving it equal power with places like Marylebone, Finsbury, Southwark, the Tower Hamlets, Manchester, Liverpool, Nottingham, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, are transparent. However we have them frankly and audaciously avowed by the premier Russell, under his own hand and seal. An elector of Tavistock wrote to him, complaining of family nomination. Lord John Russell replies, saying, he had suggested Colonel Fox, and they had elected him. 'But after that single election, I shall not consider you, or any other person, bound to attend to my wishes respecting a second member for Tavistock. I hope there may always be a member of our family deserving of the confidence of the electors; and that unless he deserves it he will not ask it. Your faithful

servant, J. Russell.' He hopes there will always be a deserving member of his family for the seat. Now, on what is this family pretension based? On a prophetic knowledge that the minds of the three hundred electors of Tavistock will always be in their conscientious views in accordance with the opinions of the Russells?

But we disdain to pursue our attack on a system against an individual, however justly amenable to censure for his share of its iniquities. There is little difficulty in finding out why a member of an aristocratic family confidently anticipates the future connexion of members of his family with a town. Let us pay a visit to Petersfield, a small borough, which is of as much parliamentary importance as Aberdeen, though the latter consists of two boroughs, and seventy thousand inhabitants. Petersfield is about the same size as Tavistock, consisting of about three hundred ten-pound houses, and five thousand inhabitants. A Tory, and not a Whig, owns most of the houses, and therefore Petersfield returns one member, instead of two members. Our proposition is, that in the small boroughs the property principle means property in the souls of men. Of the three hundred ten-pound houses in the borough of Petersfield, Sir William Jolliffe owns about ninety, a number sufficient to secure his return, and therefore he is the member for Petersfield. Not the largest proprietor in the borough, he is the lucky owner of the largest number of ten-pound electors. He is not the representative of any body of men, he represents his own houses. He is the honourable member for-ninety houses. As he is a Tory the houses are Tory. Were he to rat, the houses, seized with a fit of tergiversation, would change their politics, betray their party, and become Whigs. Such a fancy as a tenant voting against his landlord, is never dreamt of. To turn a gentleman's property against his politics, the tenant argues would be unfair, and only stops abashed when asked if a man was made only to become the pen for a ten-pound house. On his side, the landlord is shocked at the supposition of his tenants voting for him unpaid. Labouring men are not to do his work for nothing. He pays them for making him a member, as he pays them for ploughing his fields, or making his carts. In the small English boroughs the registration is regularly paid for by the Whig proprietors, on the one side, and the Tory proprietors, on the other side. They register their voting machines gratuitously.

Now mark the reform. By the old way the electors of these petty boroughs were the corporation and freemen, a small body of proprietors of a seat in parliament, which they sold by their own agent, on their own terms, to the purchaser they liked best.

According to the new way, their numbers may be extended to a few hundreds, but their characters are entirely changed. The proprietors of a seat disappear-in their stead we have the voting There are more who sell the seat in their machines of houses. votes. The corrupt dealers in the seat are also more corruptly and more basely mercenary, because they dare not choose, either their own agent, their own buyer, or their own terms. They sell the seat, and themselves with it. They are doubly bought and sold. The occupier has not a choice even in selling himself. Such is the certainty of the identity of the house and the vote, that we know a case in which a Tory made a difference of fifteen hundred pounds in his price of some houses, when he found he was dealing with a Whig, although the Whig had offered a price for the sake of the votes on which the rental of the houses would have yielded only two per cent. interest for his money. When the influence of houses is not sufficient to corrupt the electors, and drink and bribery fail, means are taken to handcuff them severely by lending them money on notes of band and bills of sale; and seven day leases, and the terrors of writs, distress warrants, executions, and ejectments, are all used in degrading the tenants into voting utensils. Talk with a tradesman or farmer upon politics in the villages or small towns, and in every syllable your ear, and in every look your eye will be offended by the sight and sound of a slave. He looks at your coat, and trembles lest you should report him to his landlord or his customers. At first he tells you he is a Tory, and next that he is a friend of the ballot. Ask how the next election will go, and he will tell you an estate of houses has passed from one party to another, and the election is decided by the change. When the election comes, you will find the prediction fulfilled. A single room in Sudbury would have contained all the persons tainted with bribery before the Reform Act. In 1841, being temporarily free from their hereditary master, hundreds of them marched in troops with flags and music, and polled for candidates they had seen at the hustings for the first time. On receiving tickets, certifying how they had voted, they marched in open day to a hotel, where the hands of persons unseen gave them, through a hole, for each ticket, the handful of gold for which they had sold themselves, their souls, and their country.

Sometimes the automata have a choice. In these cases the value of a conscience may be seen to a pound. Generally radicals, to a man, and hating both the parties to whom they prostitute themselves, occasionally one of this corrupt class finds his way to the committee-room of a Radical candidate. He says—

The Whigs pay fifteen, and the Tories twenty pounds, but as I think you best for the nation, I will vote for you for ten.' The value of this conscience is five pounds. This is the price set upon it by him who knows it best. In places like Hertford and St. Alban's, there are voters who make up their rents with bribes. Skilful, from practice, in bribery, these wretches contrive to get paid for a promise to each of the candidates; for promises to break their promises all round, and the vote, in the end, goes to the party who gives the best and the largest bribe. No slander more fatal to a candidate in some constituencies can be spread, than that he has no money. Rumours circulate among the electors of heavy boxes of gold which have arrived at the inns of the candidates from the Carlton and the Reform Some candidates have the effrontery to proclaim even from the hustings—'They say I have no money, but I say a few thousands shall not keep me out of Parliament.' There is in Norwich an elector whose price is two hundred pounds; under this sum the virtuous man will not vote. He has received his price often enough to have been able to build a house with his bribes.

The evils we have been faintly indicating were all in full action in the last general election. The proceedings in west Gloucestershire throw a hideous light upon the nomination abuse. Absolute submission to the will of the patron is the condition of the existence of the nominee. 'I would have voted for the repeal of the corn-laws,' says Mr. Grantley Berkeley, but the castle would not let me.' In a speech delivered in celebration of his return, this gentlemen draws the following picture of the agencies set to work against him by his patron and brother, the Earl Fitzhardinge.

West Gloucestershire and the 'Berkeley feud' are too well known to all readers of the newspapers, to require one word of introduction to the Hon. Grantley Berkeley's statement at the public dinner, given to him two weeks ago, at Gloucester. We can only give the substance of his speech, which exposes the enormities of the hideous nomination system. Mr. Berkeley says:—'We have seen everything that could prove bribery and corruption. I have traced bill after bill. A friend of mine, a 'Jolly Forester,' came suddenly round a corner, and saw one of the Fitzhardinge agents in the act of putting half-crowns into the hands of a man who had promised his vote to me; the Forester had no time to speak, so he knocked down the man who was paying the money, and said, 'I beg your pardon; I did not mean it, if you are not bribing that man.' Look at a place which I will not name, because I do not want to put a stigma upon any place in our county; but there was a place where, by my canvass and the

Blue' canvass, I had a majority of from two hundred to four hundred-I think four hundred: in two days, when the lord-lieutenant came down, that was reduced to a minority of nine against me. We have had compliments to the ladies, sovereigns put into the tea instead of sugar, and into the wash-tub instead of soap, and cabbages bought at any price (cries of '£10, £15'), and we have had one man coming to the poll and plumping for me, and saying, 'Here are fifteen sovereigns I have received to vote against you.' We have many instances of interference by the lord-lieutenant with the suffrage. Then, look at the riots. I know all his lordship's gamekeepers; and I happened to be staying at Lower Stone. Choppell, the headkeeper, was running about to hire special constables to keep the peace with bludgeons. To gain the show of hands it cost the lord-lieutenant £800, and he lost it by twenty to one. I saw tenants and old servants driven to the polling-booths as if they were the shambles or the slaughter-house; and many a half-suppressed curse did I hear from the lips of many an old man as he passed up to the place of the murder of his conscience in the vote he was about to give-a curse muttered upon the man who sent him there to vote against me. Old servants and old tenants in tears were seen at the hustings. I trust that we may never see the like again; and to prevent its ever disgusting the political world again, we must in a body-interfere with the domination of the peers.'

But no case of nomination can surpass that of the Wick boroughs. The Duke of Sutherland is the proprietor of most of the county of Sutherland. His father and himself have swallowed up nearly all the small proprietors. In this county there is nothing to prevent his returning his black footman, except public opinion. The electors are all his tenants. The man he sends down is elected, as a matter of course. But, just because the thing is a matter of course, it is a subject of very little remark. In the Wick boroughs, the duke nominates his own factor, Mr. James Loch, and he is always elected without opposition. When this person was nominated last time, the newspapers say only a single hand was held up for him in the crowd. But he was returned, of course, by the brutal power of the property of the duke, of whom he is the nominee. There was the duke for him, and there was one hand for him!

A recent trial throws light upon the treating practices. One Brown, of New Basford, a victualler, kept open house at the election, in 1842, for the Conservative interest. One Sanders, an attorney, engaged him to do so again, at an election which was to take place in 1843. The lawyer gave the publican an I. O. U. for thirty pounds. No bills were to be reckoned, for fear the candidate should be a second time unseated for treating. However, the items of the bill appeared in court, because the

attorney refused to pay the I.O.U., on the plea that it was dated on a Sunday, and was for a corrupt consideration. The items were—two hundred and sixty gallons of ale, £20; cigars and tobacco, £2. 5s.; refreshments, £7. 15s.; total, £30.

This proceeding embodies beautifully the representative system in social life. Three hundred and two glasses of gin, and two hundred and eighty-five glasses of brandy-and-water were charged by this publican on another occasion. What a crew is revealed by such a case! The attorney trying to do the publican by dating his I.O.U. on a Sunday. The publican selling his drink reckless, though every drop of it was full of demoralization. And then the electors,—the free-born Englishmen, the enfranchised of the constitution, glorying in the shame of their political sponging. Lastly, we have the honourable or the right honourable gentleman, who from such hands receives 'the highest honour an Englishman can receive from his countrymen.' At Kilmarnock, the late Alexander Johnstone corrupted the constituency by bribery and treating; and his bill on the occasion of his successful election in one inn, is said to have amounted to £600.

Of downright bribery, there was plenty in the last general election. To begin with the premier and London city. Whether with or without the cognizance of the author of an act against bribery last session, it is confidently asserted, that to bribery he owes his seat. A weekly whig paper boasted, prior to the election, that the city was safe to the Liberals, because the Longshore-men had been secured on the right side. The story goes, that they were made sure of by an electioneering agent, who boasts of having sold them to all parties, ever since the Reform They are divided into gangs, and every gang has a cap-The votes are bought through the captains. Those who appear to know perfectly, state specifically that this agent secured the seat for the Liberal party by securing all the captains except two, who voted with their followers for the Conser-We have been personally assured by a gentleman, actively engaged in the election, that, a little before four o'clock on the polling day, an elector received seventeen pounds, and four tons of coals, for voting for one of the candidates.

But the metropolis was not alone in its bribery. The 'North British Mail' has repeatedly accused Lord Melgund, the eldest son of the Earl of Minto, of gaining his seat for Greenock by bribery. The 'Cork Southern Reporter' says, Mr. Sheil bought his seat for Dungarvon for £5,000, or £33. 6s. 8d. per vote. At Stafford, according to the 'Manchester Guardian, one party openly blazoned their practices on a banner, displaying the significant motto, 'Free Trade in Gold.' Those who

voted for one of the candidates, were paid at a butcher's shop; and another candidate erected a temporary shed for the purpose of paying the electors as they voted. During the election, corruption was the dominant spirit of the town. The base voters regarded the honest voters as fools. Crime seems a fine thing at such times. Mr. Urquhart, the well-known accuser of Lord Palmerston, has been elected. The following is a copy of a printed ticket, issued on the occasion by this denouncer of the foreign secretary for selling himself to Russia:—

'STAFFORD ELECTION.

'Mr. Urquhart returns thanks to ———, No. —, on the register——, for a p—— vote.'

The tools by whose means the evil work of electoral corruption is effected, are the electioneering agents. They are the great perpetrators of the iniquities which enrich them, while they debase the nation. They are dealers in the seat. They traffic in the rights of the people. The sole question addressed to candidates ought to be the demand of the people, 'What good do you mean to do for us, sir?' But, instead of this, when a man wishes to become a member, the attorneys confront him with the question, 'What is your figure for us, sir?' They meet him upon the high road to parliament, and, with the insolence of foot-pads, cry, 'Stand, and deliver—down with the

ready.'

Of the characters of the electioneering agents it is necessary to speak, because, though universally known to be the lowest class of attorneys, scarcely any body has an adequate feeling and sense of their scoundrelism. 'At an election time,' said an intelligent and respectable elector, 'men call upon you whom, at another time, you would not allow to enter your door.' These are the electioneering agents. When an attorney is too degraded to have the least chance of respectable business, found out to be too sharp even for the sharpest, he naturally falls into the electioneering business. Respectable attorneys reject this species of employment as an insult. Doubtless, exceptional cases occur of respectable men undertaking this sort of business, but they are rare. A conversation between a disappointed candidate and an electioneering agent, which we find in the 'North British Mail,' will give us a glimpse into the proceedings of these gentlemen when all is fair and above board:

'Of course, we have the authority of one of them for publishing their brief, but significant, conversation:—

'Electioneering Agent.—I am very glad I have met you. If you want to get into parliament, I have two seats which can be had cheap.

Disappointed Candidate.—No, I don't. I have neither the health nor the wealth for it.

Electioneering Agent.—Do you know any one who wants a seat, with both health and money?

Disappointed Candidate. - Yes, I do; I know several, but they do

not want to pay much for them.

Electioneering Agent.—That is what we find. There is a great want of candidates. But my seats are cheap. We will guarantee the return of any man for £3,000 down; and £500 is all we ask if the candidate risks it, and there is no return.

Disappointed Candidate.—You see, there is nothing to fight about, either for party or opinion, just now. As for the honour, that is nothing to those who know who some men are, who are in parliament; and it is a great bore when a man has no object to gain by it.

Electioneering Agent .- Well, but perhaps you will mention the seats

to some of your friends who wish them.

Disappointed Candidate.-Well, perhaps I will.

Electioneering Agent.—We shall deal handsomely by you if you do; say a hundred guineas for each candidate.

Disappointed Candidate.—Thank you.'

A more common arrangement between the agent and the candidate, is an agreement by the candidate to pay a certain sum for the voters, per head. This is reckoned the best way. The candidate thus fancies he can transfer all the guilt of all the iniquities upon some one else, and quite away from himself. These modes are in such general repute,—to name a certain sum per head, or so much if the return is certain, and so much less if it is a risk,—that wary candidates refuse to stand without clear and unmistakeable agreements on black and white, which in

these ways clearly define their liabilities.

The electioneering agents often effect their ends by means of a society or club. They form the society of two or three of themselves, a few tradesmen whose affairs are in their hands, and a few respectable but weak men whom they can easily The power of the society is in the hands of the manage. The electioneering agents are as much boroughmongers as ever were the personages partially abolished by the Reform Act; and unquestionably they are boroughmongers of a worse description. The Conservative or Reform club, or Association, of the borough is both the screen and the means of their traffic. In the meetings of these societies there is, ostensibly, a great deal of discussion of the sentiments, and opinions, and eligibility of candidates. The uninitiated members are amused before they are sold. But there are always two subjects inquired into respecting every candidate. His sentiments are the show subject, but the sum he will spend upon the attorneys is the secret point upon which his acceptance turns. Woe be to the candidate who refuses to spend a sixpence illegally. No matter how unanimous the vote of the association may have been in his favour. Every engine of deception, calumny, and fraud, will do their worst against him. The candidate who buys the agents will buy the seat, and while he retains them by satisfying their rapacity, will enjoy his position snugly and comfortably. Occasionally a rich candidate is squeamish enough as the agents deem it, honourable enough as the public will regard it, to say he does not care for spending a few thousands, but he will not disgrace himself by entering the House of Commons through the dirty path of bribery, treating, and corruption. His agents will sometimes contrive to humour him. He will have to spend his thousands of pounds all the same. He will be assured all is pure, only the items for flags and ribbons, and procession men will astonish him. But on other occasions the agents will resort to corruption, sometimes without the knowledge, and at other times in defiance of the prohibition of their principal. A gentleman stood for a district of boroughs a few years ago at the invitation of a large number of most influential electors. He stood on the ground of purity of election. His declarations on this head had been so unequivocal, that the discovery of corrupt practices by his agents might have ruined his reputation. But in the heat of the election a very wealthy supporter said to his chief agent,—'If a couple of thousands will carry Mr. --- 's election, you may draw upon me for the amount.' This gentleman would have been disgusted at the thought of carrying the election by treating in the small public houses. However, this expenditure was precisely what the agent wanted, and he defiantly avowed his intention to his principal of spending the money corruptly.

'The electioneering agents,' remarks the 'Weekly Times,' 'do their business in many ways. Some of them who are tolerably respectable name a specific sum—say, from £2,000 to £5,000, if the election is certain; and from £500 to £1,500 if it is a risk. This sort of transaction is held to be all fair and above board. But candidates often greatly prefer an agreement to pay a certain sum per head for every voter. According to both methods, the candidate fancies he escapes all moral responsibility for the corrupt practices, because he is presumed to be entirely ignorant of them. When a rich candidate is to be mulcted, he is charged commissions for everybody. He has to pay a commission for every introduction he receives. The person who finds him out has a commission. The gentleman who induces him to stand gets a handsome present. The gentleman who introduces him to the borough or county must be paid a commission. In short, on a thousand pretences, he is plucked. All these things are matters of course. An eminent tradesman, of the west end of London, tells the following anecdote :- He was asked by a friend if he knew a suitable candidate for a seat? On reflection, he thought he knew 'the

very man.' Unfortunately for himself, this very man had some experience of electioneering tricks. After ascertaining all preliminaries about suitable principles and views, the gentleman asked how much money he would be expected to spend? The reply was -that it had been customary, hitherto, for the candidate to pay a third, and the constituency two-thirds, of the legal and proper expenses; but if he chose he might be returned purely and for nothing. 'But, surely,' said the gentleman to the tradesman, 'you will expect a commission for the recommendation.' 'I have never thought of such a thing, and have not the least wish or expectation of such a thing, but I will take as much commission as you like.' 'But if you will have nothing,' continued the other, 'the gentleman who introduces me to the constituency, your friend, will expect something.' 'He bid me offer to return you entirely free of expense.' The offer was too good. All could not be right. A panic of suspicion was roused by proceedings so irregular, and unusual, and disinterested; and the gentleman lost being returned to parliament purely by rejecting the negociation in a fit of terror lest he should be ruined by sharpers.'

The Registration Court is the great scene for the electioneering agent. It is his manufactory of paper votes. This species of imposture is an iniquity of such absurdity and folly, that its existence might well be deemed incredible. The Tory agent is paid by the Tory party, member, or candidate, to fabricate fictitious votes on his side. As a counterpoise to this wickedness, the Whig agent fabricates a corresponding number of false votes on behalf of the Whig party, member, or candidate. Of course the result is pretty much the same in the end. All that has happened is that the agents have been paid for fraud and forgery. The bonâ fide electors are cheated out of their rights by this bit of attorneyism. Public morals are outraged. The electioneering agents have profited by involving both parties in profitless scoundrelism.

Of this Danaides iniquity Peebleshire has furnished a memorable illustration, which is destined, we are glad to see, to come under the notice of Parliament. In this case the Tories have done in Peebleshire what the Whigs have done in Midlothian. The iniquitous set off is county for county. Perhaps, it would be difficult to conceive a more strange congeries of frauds than the creation of fictitious votes involves. Lies cluster together

verminously.

Despite the disgust which the exposure excites, we must, in discharge of our duty, describe as clearly and as briefly as possible, this system of electoral frauds. Probably few of our readers have forgotten the only distinction which attaches to the name of Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, M.P. for Peebleshire, and the contempt in which the name is written by the whole press, as if

the contempt were an universal ink. At a time when tergiversation was common, his was a distinguished case of a member obtaining office under Sir Robert Peel, for violating every principle he had been elected to represent. However, he was triumphantly re-elected at the time, and at the last general election was re-elected again by a large majority, notwithstanding his apparent violation of his principles, and betrayal of his constituency. But it appears the member for Peebleshire was unjustly charged with treachery to his constituents, for he really represented only his own paper voters. He had betrayed his constituents not by changing his principles for office, but by swamping them in a morass of electoral fraud. Long before he sold his principles, he had filched the electoral power from his constituents. He had every right to do what he liked for office. Not the honourable representative of the electors of Peebleshire, but the dishonourable representative of the fictitious votes upon the estates of himself, his relatives, and his party, the spectacle at which the country raised a yell of execration when he became a lord of the treasury, was only a thing which ought to have been expected as naturally as the plant from the seed, or the fruit from the tree.

The sheriff of Peebleshire has struck sixty-nine of his voters off from the register of the county, and there are twenty or thirty more said to be equally deserving a similar fate. According to the decision of the sheriff, the party claiming a vote for a Scotch county must be owner of property of the value of ten pounds; and he must occupy it himself or be in receipt of its profits. It is doubtful whether there is any right to a county vote where there has been no infeofment. Now, in the case of the paper voters, there was no infeofment; there was no money paid, but a simple bill granted; the dispositions and titles of the property are not handed to the private party or his agent, but to a political agent as part of a general system. The life-renters did not draw the rents, but the money is handed over by the one agent to the other, and then handed back again. Just before the general election of 1837, a general entry was made in the books of all the liferenters, by which it was made to appear that all the whole principal sums with interest, were paid off. But these were sham payments. The Conservative party advanced the money for the purpose of preserving the paper votes until the time for challenging the election in 1837 was expired, when the money was restored to them. These collusive payments show the collusive character of the transactions throughout. March, 1838, the life-renters granted back leases to the granters of their life-rents, restoring the property as completely VOL. XXII.

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as if they had never had any thing to do with it. No accounts are rendered to the life-renters-no money is paid during nine years. ' Now the question is,' as Sheriff Napier puts it, 'can it be said that a party who never personally gets his disposition who never draws a penny from the property—who gives back by a back lease every thing deposed to him—who goes through no form of possession or of passing money—can it be said that that party is in possession in truth or reality, or in the popular interpretation of the term? Is there anything but possession in paper and receipts on paper, in the same way that this title is merely on paper, never lying in his own possession but in possession of a political agent?' In some cases payments were made after the objections were lodged, but they have been treated as if never made. Nominal life-rents were exchanged by proprietors in different counties. They have been expunged. It would be easy to expose each special collusion, fraud, or falsehood, in these electoral crimes, and show how many deceptions and perjuries became necessary to protect these noxious vermin of the representative system. But the public will hear enough about these doings of shame by and bye from Mr. Gibson Carmichael and the Anti-Bribery Society.

A subject which must inevitably occupy much of the consideration of the friends of purity of election, will be, how to deal with the electioneering agents, the class to whom parliamentary corruption is daily bread. Of this class we find a strong denunciation in the 'Times.' The anecdote occurs in a

most interesting sketch of the late Mr. Walter:-

From the autumn of 1837 till the winter of 1839, he laid aside all desire to serve his country in the House of Commons; but his labours out of Parliament on behalf of those who have no resource but the poor's rates, having been continued with his usual ability and perseverance, began, at length, to manifest symptoms of that success which, sooner or later, never failed to crown every one of his undertakings. In 1839 his hopes for the poor revived, and his indignation at their sufferings had experienced no abatement; he was therefore once more induced to listen to the invitations of an electoral body. When Mr. Daniel Whittle Harvey ceased to be member for Southwark, Mr. Walter and Mr. Benjamin Wood became, in January, 1840, candidates for the representation of that borough. Mr. Walter, of course, stood upon his old principles, and would probably have been returned, had he not intrusted the business of the election too confidingly to one of that class of agents who in almost every borough force their assistance upon the acceptance of a wealthy candidate. It is believed that a biographical dictionary of that order of electioneering agents would afford as many examples of cunning and audacious frauds as any edition of the 'Newgate Calendar;' at all events, in Southwark, Mr. Walter was defeated.'

This character of this class doubtless embodies the experience of Mr. Walter who had a great deal to do with them. It is accordant with the information of the staff of the 'Times,' whose acquaintance with the real political life of the day is vast, varied, and accurate.

The electioneering agents are most powerful in reference to candidates distinguished for services rendered to the people. They are always the slaves of great parties or interests, and they can almost always exclude from Parliament an independent candidate who stands solely upon the ground of his services to the public. Precisely the best men are the men against whom their influence is worst. What the people want is an increase of the intelligence in the legislature, and their influence goes to cause money to be preferred to mind for every seat. The crying necessity of the empire is an addition or rather the admission to the House of Commons of men of legislative purpose, but the electioneering agents can always keep them out. To the men of mind and purpose, they are natural enemies, having had the experience of veterans in their hostility to intelligence and independence. If it is worth the while of any body, any party, or any interest to keep a man out, the electioneering agents will always do the job for a consideration. The men whom it is worth the while of their enemies to keep out, are precisely the men whom it is the interest of the people to bring into Parliament. They will never scruple about the means. Slanders, forgeries, insults, treacheries, briberies, trickeries, infamies the frauds of the 'Newgate Calendar' concentrated, will be directed against him, if the electioneering agents are only amply The starting of candidates to divide his supporters, and the fabrication of false reports respecting the numbers of the supporters of the different candidates, are matters of course, and they will justify every fraud, every deception, every treachery, and rampant miscreancy of every kind by the pandemonian maxims which they have themselves brought into vogue-' do, or you will be done brown,' 'every man has his price,' 'the life of man is the life of a pike in a pond,' and 'every thing is fair at an election time.'

The late Mr. Walter of the 'Times' was a man to whom the House of Commons ought to have been of the easiest access. More than any other man of his age he breathed the spirit of humanity towards the poor into the new generation. Fitness, talent, services, reputation, influence, he possessed in a great degree,—he had what some make a sine qua non, wealth, and he possessed eminently what ought to be indispensable, benevolent purpose; but the electioneering agents caused him

to be rejected conspicuously and frequently by a number of popular constituencies. Well do we remember the laughter at his rejected addresses. He was described as a perturbed spirit, who could find no rest in the electoral universe—a phantom skipper doomed to scour the ocean in vain for ever without finding a ship to take him to his haven. His lot has been that of every independent man who has sought admission to the House of Commons—every man of specific legislative purpose not backed by a powerful body of organized agitators. Mr. Walter said, 'I wish to enter Parliament to ameliorate the Poor Law; he was repeatedly beaten. Mr. Alexander Dunlop said-'I wish to be elected to oppose the endowment of the Irish priesthood;' and the corrupt electoral agencies rejected him in his native town by means of Lord Melgund, the eldest son of the impromptu ambassador to Rome. Mr. Miall has stood twice as the champion of the separation of Church and State; and powerful though his principles are, and rapid as their growth is in the public mind, and though backed by organizations which are daily gaining strength, in proportion to the fear of him as a man of purpose, has been the opposition to him by the

criminal agents of the electoral system.

The electioneering agent is the soul of electoral iniquity. He is the guilty trafficker in the rights of the electors. It is his business and delight to keep within his power the needy and base electors whom he boasts of having sold to all parties. He is the fabricator of the false accounts of the constituency which lure the candidate to his ruin. The electioneering agent is generally a person of great cunning, information, and shrewdness, the natural element of whose soul is dirt. He gives his I. O. U. to the publican, who opens his house. Hundreds of 'brandies,' and 'gins,' and gallons of ale, keep the voters together, whom he sells to the candidate who will pay him highest. This gives him his hold upon the candidate. the electioneering agent who compels men of the highest fitness and the most beneficent purpose to expend energies in approaching the door of Parliament, which would have sufficed to render lasting benefits to the people. The electioneering agent and his ally, the political publican, are systematic and habitual teachers and trainers in crime. Towards the candidate his aspect is extortion and fraud. Towards the man of independence, intelligence, and purpose, his relations are ruthless hostility, or criminal betrayal. In reference to the honest electors, he is the thief who steals their privileges. With respect to the needy electors, he is the foul genius of demoralization. It is the electioneering agent who wields over the needy elector the

terrors of seven day leases, of distress-warrants, executions, and ejectments. It is the electioneering agent who collects the rents of the ten-pound houses, whose tenants are degraded into voting machines. He is the author of the thousand verminous frauds and perjuries which have created and protected the noxious spawn of fictitious votes. Drunkenness destroys for him. Law entraps for him. Gold, in his service, sparkles with a demon spell in the eyes of the poor elector, until the soul of the man is sold to the evil one. Betraying the candidate into ruinous expenses, or making him the victim of fraud, calumny, or treachery; seducing the consciences of the electors, and destroying truth, right, and patriotism, by his infernal activity, the electioneering agent is authentically proved by his moral atmosphere, his deeds, and his tendencies, to be the demon of the electoral system, the arch-fiend of the British constitution.

The labours of the Anti-Bribery Society will be beneficent and successful, if they do nothing more than record the corruptions of the electoral system. The mere name will be a successful protest against the evil. In such a cause the mere

attempt is a success.

'The House of Commons is made a club of rich men by the present system, when it ought to be a workshop for the people.' The expenses ought to fall upon the persons who are served gratuitously, and not upon the men who serve gratuitously.' The qualification ought to be, that a man has some beneficent ideas in his head, which he wishes to embody in the laws for the good of the people.' These truths are the basis of the agitation. To quote the prospectus before us:

'There is no solid principle on which we can rest short of the one embodied in the pledge of the Anti-Bribery Society-election solely on the ground of fitness. The inadequacy of the intelligence in Parliament to the wants of the empire yearly costs the people a great waste of money, the destruction of many lives, and the continuance of vast social, moral, and spiritual evils. There must be a total suppression of the system which makes election an expense to candidates. No man ought to have to pay a single sixpence for a seat. The qualification ought not to be that a man is willing to spend a few thousands upon a parliamentary speculation of being re-paid by place, by family promotions, or by downright jobs. The qualification ought to be that a man has some beneficent ideas in his head, which he wishes to embody in the laws for the good of the people. Without this qualification no man has a right to a seat. The question ought to be, not has this man 300l. a-year, or will he spend thousands in bribing and treating, but has God made this man a lawgiver by the moral and mental gifts with which his soul is endowed? Is there good for the people in this man?

'The Anti-Bribery Society originated in a suggestion recently thrown out in a series of articles embodying these views, in a periodical publication, by John Robertson, Esq., late editor of the London and Westminster Review. The society has been formed to unite men of all political opinions (carefully excluding the discussion of all party questions) by subscription to the following declaration:—

'We, the undersigned, pledge ourselves hereby to use all constitutional and legal means for the suppression of the system which makes election to the House of Commons an expense to candidates; and never to desist from our efforts until the sole qualification shall be fitness to represent the views and feelings of the constituencies.'

Nothing good is done now-a days without the agitation of societies. Lord Brougham has made eloquent speeches, and Lord John Russell has passed much lauded bills against bribery and corruption, and the evils have been as rampant as ever. In this great moral movement, association is necessary to success. The political unions carried the Reform Bill. The Anti-Slavery Society abolished slavery in the West Indies. The Penny Postage Association obtained penny postage. The Anti-Corn-Law League won free trade. The Health of Towns' Association will establish sanatory reform. The Anti-State-Church Association is diffusing the principles of religious equality. On all subjects, in the long run, the people is the legislature. To them, with a well-grounded hope of a speedy and a great success, we commend the objects of the Anti-Bribery Society.

ART. II.—The Christian State: or the First Principles of National Religion. By the Rev. T. R. Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley. 1847.

'A GREAT book,' says an ancient authority, 'is a great nuisance.' And if we were to form our estimate of the volume before us by this rule, we should be in danger of thinking rather hardly of it; for there are no less than six hundred and sixty-nine octavo pages within its portly dimensions. We will not allow ourselves to criticise it, however, on the dimension principle. We acknowledge the high, the almost paramount importance of the subject on which it is written. We look upon its appearance as one among many evidences that the question of ecclesiastical establishments is the question of the age; and we deem the decision of this question so vitally momentous to the highest interests of our country and of the world, that we thank every man who contributes in any way to the discussion of it. any man who would discuss it luminously and convincingly, we would gladly allow the prerogative of expanding his thoughts, not only over seven hundred pages of letter-press, but over a thousand.

The work on our table, however, possesses more interest than belongs merely to the subject of it. The author is a very estimable young clergyman of the church of England, already favourably known as a man of piety and zeal, and as a writer of He belongs to what, for considerable power and promise. distinction sake, we may call the evangelical party, as opposed to the high-church party, in the establishment, and may be held probably to speak their views, as well as his own; an inference confirmed, we think, by the near family relation in which he stands to the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, rector of Watton, and the patronage bestowed by this eminent minister of Christ on the book written by his son-in-law. We have, therefore, before us what we believe we may call a novelty, and certainly an interesting novelty, in the state-church controversy, the manifesto of the evangelical party, and an implicit statement of the grounds on which they uphold the secular establishment of Christianity. That the truly pious and catholic-spirited members of the church of England could not agree with the principles which have been put forth on this subject by high-church writers, has been evident from the nature of the case; and accordingly we have the pleasure of finding them distinctly disavowed by Mr. Birks. He speaks of what, he says, 'may be popularly termed, the high-church theory of religious establishments' in the following manner:—

'It starts from the maxim, that the church of Christ is a visible institution, ordained by Christ himself, and to continue visible and distinct to the end of time. It assumes, further, that its essence consists in the Divine authority of its rulers, derived to them by their unbroken, or almost unbroken, succession of ministerial commission from the apostles themselves. It is further assumed that the conjoint authority of a Christian king, and of the rulers of the clergy within the land, is supreme and absolute over the Christian people; so that those who disown it, under whatever pretext, are entirely cut off from the visible church. They may still partake of Divine grace, but by a special and supernatural mercy, beyond the revealed covenant of the gospel; and hence the State cannot show any countenance to such communities, without a direct treachery against the claims of the church, and a sinful violation of the ordinance of Christ.'—p. 521.

After a somewhat lengthened and effective argument, he closes his remarks as follows:—

'This great error, which would define the visible church by a mere external succession and legal uniformity, even when united with real faith, must inevitably blight and paralyze the spiritual senses. It compels those who embrace it to one of two alternatives. They must either shut their eyes to the clearest marks of Divine grace, and of the blessing of Christ, in those whom they resign to uncovenanted mercy as outcasts from the visible church; or else they must maintain that our Lord, in fixing the boundaries of that church, attaches far less importance to faith, sound doctrine, real holiness, and a pure conscience, than to an implicit deference to the most doubtful commands of some particular set of rulers; and this, too, when many others, placed outwardly in the same office, are known to have abused their power to enforce the worst superstition. The former alternative is deeply injurious to the Spirit of God, whose work it vilifies or denies; and the other is no less dishonourable to our Lord himself, since it makes him contradict, in the institution of the church, the main doctrines and precepts of the gospel.'—pp. 529, 530.

We cite these remarks with great satisfaction, and readily allow ourselves to indulge the agreeable hope that they express

the sentiments of pious churchmen at large.

The high-church theory of religious establishments, however, being thus thrown overboard, it is obvious to ask what remains, and to inquire after the arguments by which those who reject the defences constructed by their predecessors, with no small amount of talent and labour, attempt to vindicate the common position. On this point we have to acknowledge that our author is perfectly candid and explicit, and we shall endeavour

to avail ourselves with equal candour and explicitness of the

lights which his volume supplies.

That we may do the fullest and most manifest justice to his argument, we will quote entire the series of propositions which the author lays down, and which, he tells us, his work 'is designed to prove.' They are as follows:—

'The maxims on which the obligation of national religion, in its true and scriptural idea, seems to repose, may be stated as follows:

'1. First, all rulers, to whom the gospel has been sent, are bound to embrace it with all their heart, and to submit themselves willingly, with all their official power and greatness, to the authority of the Son of God.

'2. Such rulers, whether magistrates, statesmen, or kings, are bound to rule in the fear of God, to avow openly their allegiance to Christ,

and to do all to the glory of his name.

'3. Thirdly, they ought, therefore, to base their laws on the revealed word of God; to execute them with an open appeal to his authority; to own themselves, in their public character, his ministers and servants; and to honour him with open acts of worship, in con-

fession, prayer, and thanksgiving.

'4. Fourthly, their duty, as the ministers of God for good to the people, has a wider range than barely to secure property and life by motives of physical fear. They are bound to promote a wise distribution of wealth, even more than its accumulation, and its virtuous use, more than its selfish possession. They ought, in their whole policy, to honour moral excellence above worldly riches; to care for the deep wants of the soul more than for those of the body; and, instead of making worldly abundance their highest aim, to seek, by all means in their power, the true and eternal welfare of their people.

'5. Fifthly, the visible church, in its true idea, is a direct appointment of God, to spread the light of Divine truth in the world, and to bring families, states, and kingdoms, with all their various fields of thought and action, into full captivity to the obedience of Christ.

'6. Hence, wherever that church has a home, Christian rulers are bound to become members of its communion, to protect it from malice and outrage, to sanction and promote its labours of love, in the instruction of the ignorant, and the conversion of unbelievers, and to give it social facilities for its growth and increase in numbers, purity, and holiness.

'7. They are therefore bound, also, in their laws, to recognize its corporate existence, its social worth, and Divine commission; to encourage, and, when needful, to regulate, the offerings of its members; to help on its efforts for the instruction of the people, and to honour its ordinances and maxims in the whole constitution of the State.

'8. When the visible church is corrupted with false doctrine, rent with schisms, or debased in purity and moral power, other duties will devolve on Christian rulers. They will then be bound to discern between wholesome truth and pernicious error; to discountenance the

one, and to promote the other; to resist alike sectarian bigotry and unbelieving indifference; to honour and encourage all parts of the visible church which the Lord himself would receive, in proportion to their religious soundness, and power of social benefit; but to repress grosser evils with varying degrees of severity, as they are more or less pernicious to the state, and more or less openly condemned in the word of God.

'9. Ninthly, these views of the ruler's obligations, while they are confirmed by the testimony of Scripture, in various precepts and examples, are also in full harmony with the true rights of conscience,

and the universal maxims of the gospel of Christ.

'10. Lastly, while it is our duty, as patriots and Christians, to aim at this high standard, and to condemn all departures from it as one part of the predicted apostasy of the last days, we are to expect its full attainment only in the promised times of the restitution of all things, when the earth shall be full of the glory of the Lord.'—pp. 16—18.

Now, on the face of this series of propositions, and without entering at present into any minute examination of them, it is evident that the author intentionally confines himself to a treatment of the duty of *Christian* rulers, and that he leaves wholly out of view the duties of rulers at large, or of rulers as such. The reasoning is, All rulers (prop. 1.) are bound to embrace the gospel, and all such rulers (prop. 2.)—those, namely, who have embraced the gospel—are bound to rule in the fear of God; and on this everything that follows depends. It is clear, therefore, that the author means to teach nothing beyond the duty of Christian rulers. That we do not misinterpret him in this respect, is plain from his words elsewhere. He thus, for example, states his general object in p. 15: 'My object will be to deduce in order, from the first principles of the gospel, those laws of duty which are binding on Christian rulers in connexion with the visible church, and the promotion and spread of true And he opens the first chapter (p. 12) with this religion. statement of the question: 'What are the real duties of the Christian ruler, in all questions which involve the interests of religion and the spread of the gospel of Christ among men? We do not pause—as we might, however—to object to this as a very partial and defective statement of the question as it has been hitherto argued; we content ourselves with bringing out the fact, that our author does not mean to assert anything beyond the duty of *Christian rulers* to legislate for religion.

This limitation of the controversy is worthy of notice. For it is a limitation of the controversy. What has been hitherto asserted boldly and often is, that it is the duty of rulers as such, and consequently of all rulers, to legislate for religion.

Not so Mr. Birks. He inquires after the duties of none but Christian rulers. He acknowledges no obligation on kings to promote any religion but Christianity-nor this, until a king has become a Christian. Until a ruler has embraced the gospel, he is not only not bound to legislate for religion, but he is bound not to do it, since he would be promoting some form of false religion, which could never be right, but must be always So reasons our author, and we commend his discretion to his fellow-workers in this controversy. All we care to ask is, whether they may all be supposed to agree with him; whether it may now be taken as granted, that the right of rulers, as such, to legislate for religion, after having been contended for during so many centuries, and maintained by so many atrocities, is now at last given up, and will be heard of no more? We should sincerely rejoice in such a consummation, but we are by no means sure of it. At all events, however, it may be expected that the discussion of this point will be henceforth transferred to church of England ground. It will surely, from this time, be a battle between churchmen; and we hope Mr. Birks will not shrink from the championship, if occasion should require his prowess.

Whatever may be the case, however, with rulers in general, our author maintains that Christian rulers, such as have embraced the gospel, are bound to legislate in religious matters; they ought 'to care for the . . wants of the soul, . . and to seek, by all means in their power, the true and eternal welfare of their

people.'

Let us look at this cardinal principle carefully, and endeavour to ascertain, first, whether it can be satisfactorily arrived at, and, secondly, whether, if it could be so, it would avail for the advocates of national Christianity.

Our first inquiry is, whether this corner-stone of the evan-

gelical state-church system is firmly laid.

Now we could have understood an argument in which the duty of one class of rulers should have been inferred from the admitted duty of all; and to an advocate who had established the obligation of all kings to legislate for religion, we should have been forced to concede the right of Christian kings to do so. But this, the reader will clearly perceive, is not the argument of our author. He infers the duty of a Christian ruler to legislate for religion, not from his position as a ruler, but from his character as a Christian. He himself having embraced the gospel, it is therefore his duty 'to seek, by all means in his power, the true and eternal welfare of his people.' We object, however, to this inference. We not only do not concur in the connecting link

between the premises and the conclusion, but we have a strong feeling of the fallacy of the entire argument. The foundation of it, laid bare, is, that the duties of civil offices vary according to the varying character of those who hold them. Never was there as the foundation of any argument a proposition more untrue or absurd. It is of the very nature of the offices into which the functions required by the welfare of society are thrown, that their duties should be definite and definitely prescribed. How else, indeed, can any office-holder know what he has to do? And so it is in point of fact, from the summit of society to its base. Begin at the lowest, and go through the various gradations of constable, gaoler, magistrate, and judge; to which of them do we think of saying, 'Your duties vary with your character; they are one thing if you be this, another if you be that?' Do we not say rather, 'Whatever you yourself may be, the duties of the office are these?' It could not indeed be otherwise, without throwing the whole social fabric into confusion. In a properly organized community, all the duties required by its wellbeing are distributed into some one or another of the instituted departments of government; and the various offices become in this manner so firmly compacted, and so nicely adjusted one to another, that no functionary can go beyond the limits of his own duty without trespassing on the province of another. So to define official duties has been the great struggle of society against arbitrary power; and to constrain the respective functionaries to observe the established limits of their action, is the object of a constant and necessary social jealousy. Can any reason be shown why the office of supreme ruler is to be held exempt from the limitations which attach to the position of all subordinate rulers? His is rather the case in which, beyond all others, there should be a distinct prescription of the duties of the office itself; all of which, and nothing more than which, he that comes to rule, whatever he may be, has to discharge.

It does not invalidate this reasoning to say, that the peculiarity in the character of a given king now under consideration, is his piety. It cannot be shown to be of the nature of piety to enlarge civil offices, or to create new departments of action for state functionaries. A religious change is but one of the many changes to which the character of men is liable, and it has nothing in it to exempt it from the general rule above laid down. The true property of all changes of character, whether for the better or the worse, is to qualify men to execute the duties of office differently, but not to vary those duties themselves. Embracing the gospel would, no doubt, enable a ruler to discharge his functions better than before, but we do not see how it could

give him any new functions. A pious keeper of Newgate has just the same official duties to discharge as if he were without piety; so likewise, a pious occupant of the British throne.

In another passage (pp. 22, 23), our author argues, that a ruler who has embraced Christianity then comes under obligation to promote it, 'by all means in his power,' because he has then, for the first time, arrived at religious truth; and that he is to legislate for the diffusion of Christianity as an act of deference to 'the supreme claims of Divine revelation.' Of course, we do not mean to express a doubt whether Christianity is THE TRUTH, or whether the claims of Divine revelation to what it really demands are supreme. We believe both these propositions. And this, in strictness, is all that can be said of a pious king. He has arrived at what he believes to be the truth. There is no going further than this. If some worthy people are dissatisfied with the phraseology, and insist on it that a Christian prince has arrived at the absolute truth, we rejoin, that all that this amounts to is that they think so. If such a prince legislate for Christianity, it cannot be on the ground that Christianity is true, but only on this, that he thinks it true—it is true to him, or in his opinion; and what he enforces is not the claim of Divine revelation, but the supremacy of his own judgment. This belief that he has arrived at the truth, however, involves no necessary distinction, either between himself and other rulers, or between his present and his former self. He believes he has arrived at the truth: so, perhaps, he did before he became a Christian; and so, perhaps, do many other rulers who are not Christians. is to maintain a right to legislate for religion on the part of all conscientious rulers. Even if we were not to insist upon this, however, and if we were to admit, for the sake of argument, that a Christian ruler may be said to be in possession of absolute truth, it would not follow that he was bound to promote the diffusion of the truth 'by all the means in his power.' The depository of the truth would yet have to be consulted as to the nature of the means of which Christianity would warrant the employment; and a too zealous ruler might find himself checked in the use of 'carnal weapons,' by an authority to which he must acknowledge himself bound to defer.

To return from this digression. In the fourth of the series of propositions before us, the author argues that it is the duty of Christian rulers to care for the wants of the soul, because it is their duty to care for those of the body, and that it is their duty to seek the eternal welfare of their people, because it is their duty to promote their temporal welfare. This line of argument, however, will prove too much. To promote the temporal welfare of their people, is, we suppose, if the duty of any ruler,

not the duty of pious rulers alone. It is, we presume, and the contents of his book assure us that, in this position, Mr. Birks would agree with us, the duty of all rulers. But if the duty of caring for the soul is to be inferred from the duty of caring for the body, then clearly it is the duty of all rulers to take care of the souls of their subjects, a principle which our author sets out with virtually renouncing. The reasoning, indeed, is on the face of it unsound. It infers the duty of pious kings - that is, of one class of kings exclusively - from the nature of the kingly office; whereas it is plain that, if the nature of the kingly office warrant any inferences at all, these must apply equally to all who hold it. The Divine declaration here cited, and afterwards largely dwelt upon by the author, that rulers are 'the ministers of God for good' to their people, is admitted on all hands to refer to rulers as such, and not exclusively to pious ones. It may be a guide to the duties of rulers at large, but can throw no light on those of Christian

rulers in particular.

In page twenty-two, the author seems to intimate that there is a sense in which it may be said to be the duty of all rulers to legislate for Christianity, inasmuch as it is their duty to embrace it, and, when they have embraced it, it will be their duty to diffuse it. 'There is plainly an order and succession in moral duties,' says he; and so both these are represented as duties of all rulers, only in a certain order. But if this were so, why need the author have set out with inquiring specifically after the duties of Christian rulers? It is in this case the duties of rulers at large that he is in quest of. In truth, however, the fallacy involved in this language is quite transparent. To affirm that two things are a man's duty in a certain order that is to say, the second after the first, and not until the first has been performed—is only another way of saying that the second is not his duty, while the first is unperformed. people for example tell us, that it is the duty of all men to believe the gospel and to be baptised; or to adopt the mode of our author they might say, that baptism is the duty of all men, only in a certain order, that is, after faith—a whimsical and perplexing mode of intimating that baptism is not the duty of any man who has not believed the gospel. To affirm that it is the duty of pious kings to legislate for religion, is surely to affirm that it is theirs only. This, indeed, our author himself admits in the next page, where he uses the following words, 'There never was, nor can be, a real obligation * * * to propagate truth while it is believed to be falsehood.'

But surely,' our author and those who think with him may exclaim—a little indignant, perhaps, at our seemingly pertinacious

renitency to the efforts made for our conviction—'but surely, in the felicitous contingency of a sovereign being truly Christian, something good ought to follow. Ought not Christian

kings to rule in the fear of God?'

Undoubtedly, Christian kings—may God send many such!—ought to rule in the fear of God. In common with all Christians, 'whether they eat or drink, or whatsoever they do,' they should 'do all to the glory of God.' Our author seems to imagine that to admit this is to concede the whole question. He has no other conception of a ruler living to the glory of God, than of a ruler 'seeking by all means in his power the eternal welfare of his people.' We are quite willing that a pious ruler should seek the eternal welfare of his people; but only by legitimate means. The question between the author and ourselves relates to the nature of the means to be employed.

It is scarcely to be imagined that the question of means can be left absolutely open, and that a Christian king would be left entirely to his discretion in the selection of them. If Christian rulers are really under obligation to diffuse Christianity 'by ALL means in their power,' we do not see how any fault can be found with those who have employed fires and imprisonments, tortures and death. There must clearly be some guiding or restraining element in this matter, besides the mere power' of the ruler. And there can, of course, be no other guide than Christianity itself, which must be supposed to contain an expression, somewhere or other in its sacred documents, of the will of God in this respect. What the decision of this supreme authority may be it is not for us to anticipate; but while this matter is yet unexamined, it may be held at least possible that the Bible may tie a godly ruler's hands, rather than set them in motion, and teach that the most effectual manner in which he can show his care for the souls of his people is, as a ruler, to let them alone. The argument thus escapes from the series of propositions within which the author intended to confine it, and launches out into the broad inquiry, what duty does the Bible prescribe to the Christian ruler in relation to religion?

Now it is sufficiently singular, that this question is (as we believe) never once mooted or referred to, directly or indirectly, in the inspired volume. There are passages, doubtless, from which may be learned the duty of rulers as such, that is, of all rulers, in relation to religion; but there is none, we think, which teaches the duty of Christian kings exclusively, or which implies that any of the sacred writers ever conceived that godly rulers had any other duties in this respect than ungodly ones. At all events Mr. Birks has produced none, and it is

fair to presume that he would have produced such passages, could they have been found. It may be observed, therefore, that he has proposed to himself a question to which, in the form in which he puts it, the only authority to which reference can be made affords him no answer. 'What are the duties of the Christian ruler in questions which involve the interests of religion?' This is his inquiry; but the oracle gives him no response. Such an ill-considered question receives no answer

from the Supreme Wisdom.

Indirectly, however, an answer may be obtained. The Scriptures teach the duty in religious matters of all rulers, and by consequence of Christian rulers, but in such manner as to show that the duties of all rulers, whether godly or ungodly, are the same. Hence, therefore, it may be inferred that, whatever the duties of ungodly rulers are, such also are the duties of the godly. Now, respecting ungodly rulers, our author maintains that it is their duty to leave religion alone. 'There never was,' says he, 'nor can be, a real obligation either to diffuse falsehood supposing it to be the truth, or to propagate truth while it is believed to be a falsehood.' Consequently, on his own shewing, and according to the real tenor of Scripture, godly

rulers also ought to leave religion alone.

We would not have it inferred from what we have just said, that our author has made no references in his extended argument to the inspired volume. On the contrary, his volume abounds with them far beyond any work of the kind we have ever met with. One might think, from his numerous scriptural citations, that the meddling of pious rulers with religion was the most obvious and largely enforced topic in the Bible. But the force of all these quotations is destroyed by a fatal fallacy. The author is incessantly reasoning to the duty of the Christian ruler from passages which relate to the duties of rulers at large. To shew more distinctly what we mean, we will give an example, which we take at random, and present as an instance of a general fact. In the chapter on the testimony of the Acts and Epistles, (chap. xi.), we find the following:—

'2. In the apostolic Epistles, there are only a few passages which throw any direct light on our present subject, the true province of Christian rulers. But there are three or four texts which have a more immediate bearing on the special duty of Christian rulers and kings.

'The first of these is the well known passage (Rom. xiii.) where St. Paul treats of the duty of Christians toward the civil ruler, whose office is also briefly defined. 'He is the minister of God for good.' But since the only true good, in the view of sound reason, is that which ministers to the soul's welfare; it seems to follow at once that the ruler is bound, in all his actions, to take public cognizance of Divine truth, and make the welfare of immortal souls the final aim which regulates the whole course of his public policy.'—pp. 286, 287.

The reader can scarcely have read this extract without perceiving the defect of which we have spoken. 'There are three or four texts,' says the author, 'which have a more immediate bearing on the special duty of Christian rulers and kings;' and he goes on to cite a passage which, by his own admission, defines the office of the civil ruler generally! Why, the words of the apostle teach us nothing whatever of 'the special duty of Christian rulers and kings.' They define the ruler's office; and if they do inculcate an interference in religion, they inculcate it as pertaining to the office, and as binding on all who hold it. Thus understood, they would as directly justify the persecutions

of Nero as the patronage of Constantine.

As another instance, and one in which the same fault vitiates an extended argument, we refer to pp. 210, et. seq., in which an attempt is made to infer the duty of Christian kings from the nature of civil government, or of the kingly office. In this passage, by a singular piece of logical manipulation (to which we are strongly tempted to apply the term legerdemain), the author endeavours to show that the ruler's office comprehends in itself the functions of prophet, priest, and king (we assure the reader we are not joking), and then he argues that this demonstrates the duty of Christian kings; never seeming to suspect that if his argument proves any thing, it proves the duty of all kings, even of those ungodly ones who, as he himself declares, ought not to meddle with religion.

Further examples might be cited to an extent which would speedily exceed our limits, and exhaust the reader's patience. Let any one who desires it, put to the test our assertion that the scriptural references in the volume throughout are characterised by the prevalence of the fallacy we have indicated. That such an element wholly vitiates the reasoning which it

infects, must be obvious to all.

We may now, we think, close the first branch of our inquiry, namely, whether the principle laid down by our author, that it is the duty of pious rulers to legislate for religion, is satisfactorily arrived at; and may proceed to the second, namely, whether, if it were, it would avail for the purpose for which it is adduced. If it would vindicate national establishments of religion in theory, would it also avail for their practical construction and working?

Now to us it appears that the application of the principle adopted by our evangelical brethren, must be a matter of great,

if not insuperable difficulty.

In the first place, here is a question of no little delicacy (to vol. XXII.

say the least of it) to be decided, before it can be known concerning a given king, either by himself or his people, whether he is to legislate concerning religion, or not. He is not to do so because he is king, but only in case he is a Christian king. How then is this to be ascertained? Whether a man be a king or not, is, generally speaking, sufficiently obvious, both to himself and others; but how is it to be known whether the said king is a Christian, or, in the words of our author, whether he has 'embraced the gospel?' Is his own opinion upon this point to be accepted, and is the power of legislating on religious matters to be grasped, at pleasure, by the men who sit on thrones? If a king's opinion of himself is not to be taken, who are to be his judges? Is he to be tried by a jury of his peers, or by a jury of his subjects? What means are there of securing that his judges shall themselves be pious men, and know how to proceed with their business? Can judges be found who shall have any means of enforcing their judgment? Or can kings be found who would, for a moment, think of submitting to it? We go further, and ask if the question whether a man is or is not a Christian is capable of being decided by any earthly tribunal? Personal religion is, as we take it (and no doubt Mr. Birks agrees with us), a matter of the heart; and its absolute existence can neither be affirmed nor denied, but by Him who knows the heart. A king, like any other man, may indeed profess Christianity, and his profession may be accompanied by more or less of probable evidence; but this is nothing to the point. The doctrine laid down by our author is, not that it is the duty of rulers who profess Christianity to legislate for it, but of rulers who are Christians, who have 'embraced the gospel.' Consequently, he suspends the duty of legislating for religion, that is, the whole fabric of national Christianity, on a condition which, if it were discoverable, no tribunal can be instituted for determining, and which, if a tribunal were constituted, could never be discovered at all! Certainly the habit of building castles in the air has not yet died out of the world.

If it be said that this is somewhat too sharp, and approaches to unfairness, we ask whether the author will take the opportunity of modifying his position, and whether he will prefer saying that every ruler professing Christianity is under obligation to legislate for it? We are not quite sure that he would do so. Upon this supposition, however, we should ask him what there is in such an act of profession (which may be profession merely) to create new civil rights and obligations? To become a Christian does imply a momentous change of character, upon which the argument, in the former case, might seem plausibly to rest; but when no change of character is guaranteed,

why should such important consequences follow? What king—what bad king, at least—would not, for the sake of grasping ecclesiastical dominion, profess himself a Christian? He might be pagan, mahomedan, or infidel, but, by an act of hypocrisy and villany, he would become authorised and bound to legislate

for the religion of his subjects!

If our author would not be satisfied with mere profession, but would require the accompaniment of satisfactory evidence of piety, we must ask, satisfactory to whom? To whose judgment would a king be likely to submit such a question? Or what guarantee can be given that those to whom its decision might be submitted, would decide it in a manner enlightened, conscientious, or just? The settlement of such a matter would be as arduous as the adjustment of the whole ecclesiastical controversy. That the proceedings incident to it should, in the long run, be conducted with Christian simplicity, is utterly inconceivable. It would give rise to as many intrigues as the election of a pope, and to mischiefs enough to overthrow, in a century, the firmest fabric of national religion that ever existed.

Let us suppose this initial difficulty got over, however, and a Christian king at last discovered, and seated on his throne. Let us imagine that we have before us the first of this hallowed dynasty. He is bound to diffuse Christianity 'by all means in his power,' that is, to make and enforce laws for this purpose. He assumes then authority over the religious interests of his people, dominion over conscience. But he is by the supposition the first that has had a right to do this, since he is the first Christian king. If the same thing was done before him, as it probably was, it was a wrong. At this point, therefore, we ask, to whom did authority over the religious interests of the people then belong—then, when there was no ruler in whom it properly vested? If to none, then all were, or ought to have been, left to themselves as to religious matters. Here then is the creation out of the mere fact of a sinner's conversion to Godthat sinner happening to be a king-of infinitely the most important department and function of human government, and of not only the right, but the duty, of abridging and wresting out of the hands of an entire people, what they may be either enlightened or infatuated enough to deem their most precious and cherished liberties. The first Christian king had better take care lest he lose his head.

But let us go on. The Christian king legislates for religion. He recognises and endows 'the visible church of Christ' within his dominions; he founds bishoprics, giving the mitred heads a place among his hereditary counsellors; he gives the tithe of

the land to the hierarchy; he wills church rates; he establishes ecclesiastical courts; and finally he dies, and bequeaths his crown and kingly office to another. No, not his kingly office. at least not the whole of it; his successor must not legislate for religion unless he be a Christian. And—again supposing the difficulty of the examination got over - upon inquiry it turns out that his successor is not a Christian; he is a man of the world, and has not embraced the gospel. What is to be done now? Here is what our Yankee friends would call 'an awkward fix.' First of all, here is a department of government quite at a stand-still, that namely, which relates to religion. The king, not being a Christian, has no right to touch it, and we will suppose him for this once to eschew the wrong. It is, however, a great affair, a kingdom of itself. Is it to stand? It cannot unless the king will administer it. Is it to fall? The change will be fearful. But, to fall! What! the church-rates, the tithes, the clergy, the bishops, and ——! What a tremendous change! But, no. Let the ungodly ruler perish first! 'No bishop, no king!'

We need not extend these illustrations. Nothing can be more obvious, we think, than that the principle of suspending the authority to legislate for religion on the personal character of the sovereign, must expose the government to a series of incalculable, intolerable, and destructive revolutions. If there is to be any legislation for religion, the safety and permanence of social institutions require that authority should be vested in the ruler's office, hold it who may. Let us glance, however, at some difficulties of a different kind.

We go on, still supposing the case—alas! too probable—of the accession to the throne of a sovereign who has not 'embraced the gospel.' He is to be tried by some tribunal on this point, and if their decision should be according to truth, he is to take his kingdom shorn of the ecclesiastical dominion enjoyed by his predecessor. To what an enormous amount of temptation is he thus exposed! What temptation, on the one hand, to hypocrisy! Here, if ever worldly considerations can make it so, is something worth lying for, the ecclesiastical dominion over an empire. One clever act of deceit, a few minutes of successful disguise, secures this brightest jewel in a monarch's Who, among princes will not have recourse to it? If any, it is he of the tender conscience, in whose hands such a dominion would be the safest; while the herd of bad men would rush through the narrow gate without a scruple, and laugh at the folly which imposed the test. Our author's scheme is a sort of Test and Corporation Act revived and extended. Religion was long made 'the picklock to a place,' in municipal bodies; Mr. Birks is for making it the picklock to a throne, and for letting in royal knaves to a game which has been found too essentially wicked, and too extensively mis-

chievous, for common men to play at.

What a temptation on the other hand to usurpation! A king—an actual king, for all other departments of government are conceded to him, and possessed by him—is about to be deprived of an established department of government because he is not a Christian, that is, a certain sort of religionist. 'Very pretty,' quoth he; 'but who is to take it from me if I choose to keep it? And why should I part with so valuable, so important, so indispensable an element of power? Let any one pluck this feather out of my cap who dares; I will never, with my own hand, extract this gayest of my regal plumes.' What could ensue in such circumstances, but either a quiet submismission to usurped power, or a struggle involving hazards of civil war to repel it?

The condition of the people would be no better than that of the sovereign. Admit that one pious prince had reigned over them, and established national religious institutions; in what condition are they under a successor, who, not having 'embraced the gospel,' has no authority in religious matters? The whole ecclesiastical fabric is then without its vital element, the royal authority, and the national Christianity is defunct. If it ever was of any use, how great a calamity has befallen the nation in its decease! If religious anarchy—sometimes so loudly bewailed—be a fearful evil, how inevitably and universally it comes, when, there being, in religion, no king, every

man must do that which is right in his own eyes!

In the illustrations of the working of the new system which we have hitherto presented, we have taken the form of government to which it most readily adapts itself, the monarchical; but it is clearly necessary that any available scheme of national religion should be able to accommodate itself to such other forms of government as do or may exist. Take a mixed monarchy, for example, such as that which subsists in our own country, where the legislative power is diffused through somewhere about a thousand gentlemen. If the working of the new principle would be embarrassed in a despotism by the involved necessity of a series of regenerated kings, what must it be in England, where it must require the 'embracing of the gospel' by at least a thousand men, always drawn from all ranks and classes in society, and undergoing perpetual change! It is obvious that the representative system must still further aggravate the difficulty, since, under a form of government of this kind, it would be necessary that the electoral bodies should consist of converted men, in order to afford any guarantee, we might say to create any probability, that the elected legislators should be such. Under such a government, indeed, rulers, in the sense in which our author uses the term, can scarcely be said to exist, the sovereign and his ministers constituting merely the executive, while the people, by their representatives, make laws for themselves. Under these conditions of the problem, the element called by our author, 'the duty of Christian rulers.'

vanishes altogether.

Another embarassment in the working of the scheme under consideration would arise from the different forms in which Christianity has developed itself among mankind. We do not here enter upon the question, whether some specific ecclesiastical organization is, or is not, by Divine authority prescribed; we merely take the fact, that among Christians, in the sense in which Mr. Birks would use that word, different ecclesiastical constitutions have arisen, and have been strenuously contended for. All that he requires in order to bring a ruler under obligation to legislate for religion is that he has 'embraced the gospel.' No doubt, in this case, he may be a friend of national churches, and an episcopalian. He may, however, be something else—a Presbyterian perhaps—perhaps a Romanist (for we scarcely suppose our author will deny the possibility of salvation to a Romanist)—or, perhaps, even a Congregationalist, What is to be done in these cases respectively? The law that the ruler is to legislate for Christianity must mean that he is to legislate for Christianity as it is to him, that is, as he thinks it is; consequently the carrying of it out might involve the successive establishment of every form of national Christianity, and, finally, the demolition of all.

From this view of the difficulties attending the practical working of our author's principle, were it now to be brought into operation, we may turn for a moment, to look at existing ecclesiastical establishments in the light which it sheds upon them. What, for example, can Mr. Birks, according to his own maxim, think of the church of England, as it is and always has been? Was Henry VIII., in his sense of the phrase, a 'Christian king?' Had he 'embraced the gospel?' Had the Jameses, the Charleses—had even all the Guelphs? Can our author represent the history of the Anglican protestant church as exhibiting less than a frequent recurrence of criminal usurpations of ecclesiastical power? What he may think of its present condition we know not; but we do not recollect that he advocated the suspension of the queen's ecclesiastical authority upon the result of any official examination into the sincerity of her piety. There was a time in England when even the pro-

pounding of such a sentiment might have led him to the scaffold.

It will be sufficiently apparent, from the tenor of our critique, what is our opinion of the volume before us. Generally speaking, it is creditable both to the talents and temper of the author; but it shows little power of consecutive or searching thought. Mr. Birks means well, but he is not the man by whom the great controversy of the age will be terminated. He cannot be said to have advanced it even a single step. He has missed his way, both theoretically and practically, and left the question of national religion just where it was. His book, however, is not without importance. It shows that the numerous, estimable, and influential party in the church of England, in whose name he may be taken to speak, are not satisfied with the position in which the argument was resting, and that they wanted new ground. Here evangelical churchmen thought they could stand. We think they will soon find that they cannot stand here. They will again feel that they need a new resting place. This mental ferment is a good sign, and gives promise that the hearts of good men in England will not find repose till the truth is found somewhere; where it is found, we care not.

There are, of course, in a volume of nearly seven hundred pages, a great many matters on which we have not touched, and, we may add, not a few very tempting ones. We have thought it best, however—to use a phrase which we hope will give no offence—to 'take the bull by the horns,' and grapple with the bones and sinews of the author's system; and on only one point more will we make an observation, before we bring our notice to a close. In his preface, the author states his views of the aspect of the state-church controversy, and his reasons for

entering into the field, in the following terms:-

On the other hand, there are several reasons which convince me that such a work, apart from the faults in its execution, is desirable and almost necessary, at the present time, for the true interests of our nation and of the church of Christ; and lead to a sanguine hope that even the present attempt, however imperfect and unworthy of the subject, will be honoured with a blessing from above. It is the result of convictions, slowly matured, and which were indeed partly committed to writing, more than ten years ago, at the desire of a much beloved and much honoured friend, whose praise is in all the churches. . . . And now, when his conscience acquits him of undue haste to enter on a field of thought, so much controverted in these days, and when he has sought, however feebly and unworthily, to pledge his hearty adherence to the cause of peace and love among all his fellow Christians who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, he dares no longer withhold his testimony, in these eventful times, to

Spirit, not for his own sake, but for the sake of others; truths not essential, indeed, to the life and vigour of personal holiness, but still vital to the welfare of our nation, and almost indispensable to the

real harmony and union of the church of Christ.

'To preserve our nation from such an apostacy, and to heal the divisions of Christ's people, unless I am greatly deceived, the true remedy is one and the same. We must hold up a standard for the just claims of national religion, distinct alike from the assumptions of clerical or ecclesiastical pride, and from the rash and blind zeal which would sever nations from God himself, by severing them from the revealed truths of the gospel, and their public and open allegiance to the messages of His word. The people of Christ must be rescued, if possible, from these two main errors, which pull them wider and wider asunder, till children of the same Father, servants of the same Lord, and heirs of the same kingdom, look on each other with eyes of jealousy and suspicion, if not of open hatred; till war is the normal state of the visible church, and the very effort after peace and unity becomes treachery to a party, a treasonable correspondence with avowed enemies; so that strife and violence, calumny and mutual reviling, go daily round about the walls of the spiritual Zion, and make the church of Christ a proverb and a by-word in the lips of worldly men.

'The present work, then, whatever its actual influence may be, is sincerely designed as a contribution, not only to the cause of our national Christianity, but of the peace and unity of the whole church of Christ. It would grieve the writer deeply, if, either through his own sinful infirmity, or that of others, any contrary effect should arise. His earnest aim has been to avoid all that could irritate or offend; all personal controversy, or mischievous confusion of principles, and their logical or possible consequences, with the motives and impressions of those by whom such principles are entertained. If he has failed to attain his own standard, may the God of all grace pardon the sin, and not suffer it to become a stumbling-block to one single reader, so as to hinder his careful examination of the truths them-

selves.'-pp. vi.-x.

The importance of this passage will perhaps excuse the length of the quotation. The author refers, in it, to the well known fact that he is a member of the Evangelical Alliance, an institution by means of which, it was hoped—as explicitly stated by Mr. Bickersteth—that the progress of the state-church controversy might, so far as its members were concerned, be arrested; the first book published on that controversy, however, subsequently to the formation of the Alliance, turns out to be by one of its own members, by a clergyman of the church of England, and by the son-in-law of Mr. Bickersteth! We find no fault with this. We fully admit the force of the two pleas which Mr. Birks advances, namely, first, that 'he dared not withhold his testi-

mony, and, secondly, that 'he designed it as a contribution to the peace and unity of the whole church of Christ.' These are noble avowals, and we entirely believe them. Only we say, let other parties be believed when they assert the same things. Let it be held as justifiable for a dissenter to bear his testimony as for a churchman; and, while a book in vindication of national religion is hailed as 'a contribution to peace and unity,' let not a book on behalf of nonconformity be stigmatised as an attempt

to tear the church to pieces.

That the author has studied to avoid the verbal asperity by which this controversy has so often been characterised, we sincerely believe; and, on the whole, he has been successful. Not, however, entirely. We were struck by the rather frequent use of the term 'monstrous,' not a very convincing one, we venture to suggest, in a purely argumentative work; but we think he must have quite forgotten himself, when, in discussing the matter with M. Vinet, he suffered himself to write as follows: 'What would this be but anarchy itself run mad? Such a maxim, fully adopted, must involve the destruction of all conscience, and turn social order into the Saturnalia of hell,' p. 445. This is hardly in the Alliance spirit; we have not, however, written to Sir Culling Eardley on the subject.

ART. III.—1. Travels in the East. By Constantine Tischendorff, Editor of the 'Codex Ephrämi Rescriptus, 'Codex Friderico Augustanus,' etc. Translated from the German by W. E. Shuckard. London: Longmans. 1847. 12mo. pp. 288.

2. The Lands of the Bible Visited and Described, in an extensive Journey undertaken with Special Reference to the Promotion of Biblical Research, and the Advancement of the Cause of Philanthropy. By John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., etc. With Maps and Illustrations. Edinburgh: White & Co. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xxiv, 504, 786.

When the 'Biblical Researches' of Dr. Robinson appeared, we entertained some expectation that there would be a long season of comparative rest for reviewers in respect of travels in Palestine, which for many years previously had come upon them in no stinted measure. Our expectation was founded on the notion that the great and solid worth of that book, would, by contrast, render such superficial performances as had formed the staple of

travels in the Holy Land, so manifestly valueless, as to deter other travellers of the same class from favouring the world with their lucubrations; and that, on the other hand, Dr. Robinson had so completely occupied the ground as to leave little to be done by scholars and critics like himself. We must confess to have been somewhat out in this calculation. The tide of books on Palestine has still flowed on with unabated force. Yet, when we consider that formerly every Englishman who went to the Holy Land felt it his bounden duty to write a book, and that now, although the number of travellers to that country has increased thirty-fold, the proportion of books produced is not materially greater than before; we are not indisposed to conclude, that the considerations we have stated must have had much effect in preventing the books from increasing in the same ratio with the travellers.

We also apprehend that the influence of Robinson's great work is perceivable in the materially improved character of most of the books which have since appeared. If any of our readers possess the means of examining the works which have been produced in the seven years since the Robinsonian era, he will perceive that they are, on the whole, of more sterling value than all that were obtruded on the public in twenty years preceding. We can say this with some confidence, having before

us all the books which belong to these two periods.

Of the books produced very recently, the two whose titles are given at the head of this article are the most valuable and interesting. The authors are both men of considerable eminence in different lines—both unusually competent as scholars, and men very capable of seeing and thinking for themselves. Moreover, as it happens, both travelled with distinct objects in view, of which neither of them suffers us to lose sight; and this alone imparts an unusual earnestness to their pursuits, and affords

a peculiar interest to their researches.

Tischendorff is well known as the learned editor of the works enumerated in his title, which have given to him a European reputation in biblical literature; and his object in travelling was to seek ancient manuscripts of the sacred books. The present work, however, has little to do with his learned labours, which he has had other opportunities of reporting. He does not, indeed, suffer us to lose sight of his primary object; but the book, as it stands, is a lively, impressive, and very readable account of his travelling observations. He views things with German eyes, and in a German light, which is often enough what Bacon calls a 'dry light;' but the whole has considerable freshness of effect to the English reader, who is not familiar with the distinctive character which the peculiarities of

the German intellect impress even upon their books of travel; and who necessarily regard as original, bold, and striking, whatever is new to their own experience. The book is just what the author intended it to be; for he carefully assures us, that he has 'endeavoured to appear as little learned as possible in these pages.' We certainly think that he has succeeded very well in this endeavour; but it has not been possible for him, if it were even his wish, to divest his pages of those attributes which mark the presence of the thinker and the scholar.

The author of the larger work, Dr. Wilson, is also a man of note, being, as most of our readers know, one of the missionaries in India, most distinguished by his labours, his learning, and his varied attainments. Full of the great objects to which his life has been devoted, their influence is manifested throughout these volumes. The real objects throughout are the same as those which are particularly stated in connection with

Egypt.

'To learn something of the present condition of the Jews and Christians of Egypt, and the prospects of evangelical missionary effort directed to their instruction; to mark, in connexion with my observations and inquiries, as far as my limited opportunities would permit, the precise nature of the various influences which have lately been brought to bear on the civil and religious destiny of the country in general; and to indulge, when possible, that natural curiosity,' &c.

The work is, therefore, in its specific objects, the same as that of Jowett's 'Christian Researches,' to which, indeed, it has great resemblance; the narrative of travel and the topographical observations being first given; and the principal observations on the Jews and Christian sects being exhibited in separate papers at the end of the work. There is this difference, however, that when Jowett travelled there were no resident missionaries in any of those countries, and the information sought was felt to be requisite as the basis of future operations, whereas there have now, for many years been missionaries stationed in all 'the lands of the Bible' which Dr. Wilson visited, and who must certainly be more competent than any passing traveller to afford information respecting the sects among whom they have laboured, and whose condition and opinions have been the objects of their constant attention. While, therefore, Jowett's information on these subjects had much freshness to the public, that which Dr. Wilson has to offer, although more copious, contains no large proportion of matter which has not already been given to the world in the various publications and reports of the missionaries, from whose accounts most of the information here given might just as well have been compiled in London as in Edinburgh. Indeed, these papers have in substance been thus compiled; and, as they stand, the pith of the information they contain has been previously given to the public by the author in his two long lectures on the 'Eastern Churches,' printed two years ago in the 'Lectures on Foreign Churches.' Although, therefore, a very few of the three hundred and twenty-seven pages of this work, which come under the head of 'General Researches,' would contain all the information which is new to a reader of ordinary diligence, it will be to many a great convenience to have the most recent information on these subjects brought together and digested ready to their hands. We must confess, however, that we would most gladly have spared some of the dissertations, for that memoir on the natural history of Palestine, which the author tells us he had prepared from actual observation, but was obliged to omit for want of room. This, if competently done, is a thing really wanted, and we sincerely trust that it may yet

see the light.

It is thus, upon the whole, chiefly with reference to the portion of the work comprising the personal narrative and topographical research, forming about three-fourths of the whole work, that its merits are to be estimated. Apart from the special objects, which impart a Christian interest to his narrative, and from the constant references to scripture which pervade its pages, a distinctive character is impressed upon this portion of the work by the singularly advantageous position of the author. All previous travellers—at least, all who have written anything of importance-have come to the 'lands of the Bible' from the West, and have looked upon the scenery they beheld, and the customs brought under their notice, under impressions which things so new to their experience would naturally excite. This had its advantages, as much which those who are really familiar to the East would deem too ordinary and common-place to be noticed, would strike the attention of a stranger as worthy of record; and, other things being equal, the freshness of his perceptions would be likely to produce the more agreeable and attractive narrative. Still we have had so much of this, have had it so constantly, that even this freshness has become wearisome. We perceive that it is but another name for crudeness—and we begin to sigh for such views as might be taken of Palestine by a man already familiar with the East, and able, in the fulness of his knowledge, to see more deeply into the 'reasons of things,' and to detect differences and trace analogies, which must be wholly beyond the ken of ordinary tourists, who go to Palestine and make a book, and then have done with the East. Now, here we have something of this advantage. Dr. Wilson comes to 'the lands of the Bible' with a long and ripe experience of the East, its customs and its rites. We hence constantly discover that we are in the hands of no ordinary guide. But we must confess, that the result is less marked than our words might lead the reader to expect. And the reason probably is, that the East, with which Dr. Wilson was previously familiar, is India - a tropical country, whose physical condition, and the customs of whose inhabitants are scarcely less different from those of Palestine than are our own. 'The East' is a vague term, much too loosely applied; and India is much too far east and too far south, for an acquaintance with it, to avail much to the traveller in Palestine. Still, a view from that quarter is a new point of view at least *- and that is something, as times go; and we must wait for the full realization of the advantage we have indicated, till 'the lands of the Bible' shall be explored and studied by some one well acquainted previously with Western Asia, in general—that is, so much of Asia as lies to the west of the Oxus and the Persian Gulf. The materials for comparison which lie in the regions beyond, cannot under a sober estimate be deemed of much account.

Another advantage possessed by Dr. Wilson seems to be in a knowledge of Arabic—an important but very rare attainment, which even Dr. Robinson did not enjoy, although he has availed himself, with great ability, of the knowledge of that language possessed by his travelling companion, the Rev. Eli Smith. Dr. Wilson seems to have found his Arabic available wherever he went—at Aden, in Egypt, in the desert, in Palestine. suspect, however, that this matter was not managed without greater difficulty than appears in the book; for the dialectical variations of the Arabic are very considerable; and it is hard to understand how the Arabic used in India could be readily intelligible every where else. There were, however, doubtless, some of the party who could talk with all persons that were met with in the journey; and this imparts that vitality to the narrative which is not to be found when the traveller can only report what he hears through an interpreter.

That no advantage might be wanting, Dr. Wilson provided himself with a collection of books on Palestine, larger than he had found in any of our public libraries. But he appears to have wanted time for the management of this instrument, as his references apply to very few indeed of the whole number of the books which have been produced respecting the Holy Land;

^{*} We believe that the only previous travellers who have taken Palestine in their way from India to Europe are, the 'Field-officer of Cavalry,' who published a 'Diary of a Tour' in 1823; and the Methodist Missionary, the Rev. R. Spence Hardy, who published 'Notices of the Holy Land' in 1835. Neither work is of much importance.

and, we are bound to add, that of these the titles and the names of the authors are not always given with the care which one who purchases an expensive book is entitled to expect. We scarcely regret that the author has been prevented from making greater use of his library; as Robinson has already pretty well exhausted the topographical literature of the Bible lands-and has, perhaps, indeed, given more of it than the public has even vet found time to digest. In this line, however, some freshness is produced by references to books which have appeared

since Robinson wrote.

Taken all in all, 'The Lands of the Bible' is a good and useful book. It may indeed be safely described as the best that has appeared on the subject since Robinson's 'Biblical Researches;' and we are disposed to think, that, next to that (at a long interval, certainly), it is the best in the English language. comparison is, however, only one of relative value: for, although the author owes some of his inspiration to Robinson, and although there are some features that produce a greater resemblance between these two books, than between any others recently produced, there are great and material differences in plan, in execution, and in object, and in all that relates to topographical research. Robinson's supremacy is not in the slightest degree disturbed. Though less valuable to the student, this book is much more readable, and is likely to prove much more popular than Robinson's, the personal narrative of travel being less overladen with minute topographical investigations.

Having thus introduced our two books to the reader, we shall compare their statements, on a few points of material interest, with each other, that the reader may have the advantage of seeing how far men of different countries and of different

habits of study, agree in their views of the same objects.

Respecting the journey of the Israelites to the Red Sea, they differ as to the route, but agree that the starting point was from Heliopolis. We have no inclination to discuss the assigned routes in this place, but it does not appear to us that Dr. Wilson has by any means cleared off the difficulties which lie in the way of the route through Wady Badiya, which is the one he has chosen.

Respecting the point of passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, Tischendorff says little, but agrees with Dr. Robinson and others, in placing it near Suez; whereas Dr. Wilson is decidedly in favour of the lower point of passage, at Ayun Musa. neither of these positions is supported, or the other assailed, by any new facts or arguments that we are able to discover. There is, however, a decided balance of opinion accumulating in favour of the passage at Ayun Musa, and we make little question that many years will not pass away before the other opinion will be looked back upon by studious persons, as a strange hallucination of the present age. The whole thing is rotten with rationalism; and it is painful to see how many faithful men have, in the simplicity of their minds, taken up this, not only

very untenable, but very dangerous opinion.*

Dr. Wilson has little to say about the manna, but he justly scouts the idea, that the gummy exudation from the tamarisks, to which that name is now given, had anything to do with the manna which fed the Israelites. Tischendorff does not see all these difficulties. He was on the spot at the time when this product is yielded; and as his account is the most complete which has been furnished, we here introduce it:—

'Early on the 23rd, we broke up, shortly after the first ray had greeted us, and reached, in about an hour and a half, the Sheikhvalley, with the celebrated manna-tamarisk, or, as it was there called, the darfa tree. The Feiran-valley, indeed, possesses the same tamarisk, and in much greater profusion than in the Sheikh-valley; and the tamarisk plantations there were, as I have before said, completely enveloped in the peculiar odour of the manna; yet was I universally assured that the manna itself is exclusively collected from the tamarisks of the Sheikh-valley. I rejoiced exceedingly that I had arrived at the spot at the commencement of the time at which the formation of the manna takes place; the months of June and July are considered as this period; and I strayed eagerly from branch to branch to discover by my eye what was so apparent to the smell. How rejoiced I was upon shortly finding, upon the branches of one of the largest and tallest shrubs, excrescences hanging like glittering pearls or thick dew drops! I broke off some of the finest, for I felt convinced that I held in my hand manna in the process of its formation. These thickish lumps were clammy, and had the same powerful scent emitted by the shrub. I tasted it, and its flavour, as far as I could find a suitable comparison, greatly resembles honey. On many shrubs I found small excrescences upon the twigs, which resembled at a distance those described; but close to them, I observed that they consisted of a round thick web, similar to what are found upon other shrubs, and which are but the cocoons of insects. The twigs, with the drops of manna, I placed in a tin-box: they are very well preserved: indeed, after several weeks of great heat, the drops appeared melted, and the whitish glitter had assumed a dark brown hue. But at the very instant that I am writing, the twigs brought home by me still retain these brownish masses of manna, still feel clammy, and have also the complete smell they had in the Sheikh-valley.

'My Bedouins told me that no manna had been collected for three

^{*} Since this has been in type, we have seen it announced in the last number of Zimmermann's 'Theologisches Literaturblatt,' that Tischendorff has just published a separate work on the subject, with the title—'De Israelitarum per mare rubrum transitu. Cum tabula. Lipsaiae, Brockhaus.'

years, but that this year a rich harvest was expected. In the month of July the Bedouins, and also the monks of St. Catharine's monastery, collect it in small leathern bags, chiefly from the ground, whither it drops from the branches on hot days. As it is not produced in very large quantities, it is sold tolerably dear, and chiefly to the pilgrims to Mecca and Mount Sinai. Yet do the Bedouins themselves sometimes indulge in it; they eat it spread upon bread like honey.

'Ehrenberg, who was during the summer in the Sheikh-valley, has given the most satisfactory account of the formation of manna. According to him, a small insect, which he calls coccus manniparus, punctures the twigs of the tamarisk, and the manna consists of its exuding juices. I, for my part, could discover nothing of this coccus, and only those small webs already alluded to indicated its existence. On the contrary, these tamarisks were surrounded by a large and beautiful bee, which made it difficult to approach them. If Ehrenberg's theory be correct, I believe that the tamarisks of the valley of Feiran possess the same capability of producing manna, and that only the coccus is wanting to enable them to yield it, and which might be, it would seem, easily enough conveyed there. What further confirms Ehrenberg's investigation is, that the medicinal manna of Calabria and Sicily exudes from ash trees during the summer months from the

puncture of a cicador.

But what gives this manna of the Sheikh-valley its great interest, is the recollection of the heavenly bread which fed the Israelites in the desert. And whatever may be objected to the comparison of the one with the other, I am, nevertheless, convinced that the present manna of the Sheik valley has intimate relation to the biblical manna; for this spot closely agrees with the spot where the Israelites first received manna. The book of Exodus, namely, places it near Rephidin, and Rephidin is nowhere else than between the Sheikhvalley and Sinai. And the biblical description of manna is also surprising (Exod. xvi. 31), 'and its taste was like wafers made with honey; as well as xvi. 21, 'and when the sun waxed hot, it melted,' perfectly agrees with the present manna; although that produced in Persia from an oriental kind of oak, and the manna which drops in Mesopotamia from the shrub, gavan, more closely agrees with 'white coriander seed' (Exod. xvi. 31). Indeed there are varieties enough of it. The biblical manna fell during the night from heaven, and lay in the morning like dew upon the fields: on the sabbath it did not fall, but on the previous day it fell in double quantity: after a short keeping maggots were produced in it. Besides, it had the property of sustaining a host of two millions for forty years. The statement of its falling has recalled what Aristotle says, that sometimes, on the rising of large stars, honey falls out of the air; a statement which Pliny further elucidates, in saying that this honey falls upon the rising of the Pleiades so thickly that the leaves of the shrubs and the clothes of travellers become quite clammy with it. With this has been compared the account given by the monks at Tor, who, in the morning frequently find traces of honey upon the roof of their monastery. Lastly, Wellstead has recently informed us that a Jewish rabbi told him, that in the desert of Damascus, at the present day

even, a kind of manna falls from the open sky.

'Truly, indeed, the tamarisk manna of Sinai is somewhat lessened in its importance, especially as, in the manna of the Israelites, we must not overlook the miracle. But does not the miracle retain its true character when we conceive the present manna, by the operations of Divine grace, deducible, on every side, from the preceding food of the Israelites? Were it not apparently too far-fetched, I should say that the exhalations rising from the groves of tamarisks, might very readily fall back again to the earth like dew; at least, this idea may be as admissible as that which surmises the present manna to be the enfeebled continuous result of the biblical heavenly bread.'—Tischendorff, pp. 87—89.

The futility of these speculations is almost irritating. It is marvellous that professed believers in not only the perfect truth, but in the inspiration of scripture, cannot ask themselves such plain questions as these: Where grew the trees sufficient to afford daily sustenance of this kind during forty years, and in different places, to three millions of people? And, how was it that the Hebrews had their 'bread from heaven' daily at all times of the year, winter as well as summer, when this gummy exudation is afforded only during two months in the year, June and July? Truly, when we press the consequences, it is not difficult to show that it requires more real credulity to doubt the miracles of scripture, than to believe 'all the legends of the Talmud and the Alcoran.'

Both Tischendorff and Dr. Wilson agree with Robinson that the broad valley, or enclosed plain, er-Rahah, must have been the site of the encampment formed by the Israelites in front of 'the mount of God.' But they both uphold the opinion that the summit, called Jebel Musa, is that to which tradition ascribes the distinction, and in this they differ from Robinson, who produces some weighty reasons that the advanced summit of the same ridge, which bears the name of Safsafah, was that on which the law was delivered, in the presence of the assembled hosts of Israel. Tischendorff adheres quietly to the received opinion, without noticing the other; but Dr. Wilson supports his view by some arguments of considerable weight.

Tischendorff did not visit Petra. Dr. Wilson did, and has given a very interesting account of the place, which it seems may, under proper management, be visited and explored with greater facility than has been usually supposed, and not only without molestation, but with every assistance from the resident Fellahin. The party spent a week at the place, and examined every thing under peculiar advantages. The opinion of Dr. Robinson, and others, that all the celebrated excavations at this place were

tombs, is not supported by Dr. Wilson, who advocates the opinion first indicated by Irby and Mangles, that many of them were

residences for the living.

With regard to the much disputed question — the site of Golgotha—Dr. Wilson does not appear to have formed any very decided opinion of his own, and contents himself with stating the condition of the question as against the traditional site, chiefly from Robinson, to whose views he is therefore to be regarded as giving his adhesion. We earnestly wish that he had examined the matter more thoroughly, and had contributed something to the settlement of the question; for he admits that Dr. Robinson's conclusions, though they have obtained the acquiescence of multitudes of his readers both in Europe and America, have been assented to but by few of the travellers who have visited Jerusalem, and have favoured the world with the result, since the publication of his most important 'Biblical Researches.'

Among such travellers we must count Tischendorff, who devotes considerable space to the subject, and concludes that the weight of evidence is in favour of the site covered by the church of the holy sepulchre, and that the arguments urged against it are not so unanswerable as they may, at the first view, appear to those who have not closely investigated the subject. We greatly regret that the matter has in this country already become a party question, which greatly lessens the hope of a really thorough and impartial survey of a subject to which considerable interest must always be attached, although we are unable to see in it the commanding importance which, on the one side, and on the other, has been ascribed to it. Had Tischendorff's statement been shorter, we should like to have placed it before our readers; for although we certainly do not feel prepared to assent to all his conclusions, we agree with him that 'the result of a serious investigation must be welcome, even should it oppose our prepossessions; for the truth, or what is most proximate to the truth, is the object of all research.'

We shall now present the reader with a few of the many passages we have marked for extract in these two works, both of which we can cordially recommend our readers to add to their

libraries.

Tischendorff visited the Christian monasteries at Cairo, in search of manuscripts. He found nothing, except in the convent of the Sinaïte Greeks, which he visited in company with the dragoman of the Austrian consulate:—

^{&#}x27;Upon asking to see the manuscripts, they told me that they possessed none at all, but that I should find many good ones on Mount

Sinai. Their own library contained printed books only, which were entirely at my service. I then requested the cupboard full of books standing opposite to me to be opened. A full half hour may have elapsed before the key could be found, and the operation of opening The libraries in these monasteries are mere ornaaccomplished. ments. They occupy the place that ladies' what-not's do with us. I took several volumes out, and found nothing but manuscripts. Perfectly astonished at my discovery, I mentioned it to them; but with still greater astonishment they heard me and inspected them. 'Manuscripts! manuscripts!' they reiterated, and seemed to entertain some doubt of it. An ancient manuscript was to them a perfect novelty, for they seemed to be acquainted with such things only by repute; and no sooner had they heard of their richess in manuscripts, than they began to dream of their inestimable value. After examining this bookcase, I inspected another in the chapel of the monastery, which proved to be still more productive.

'I returned again to this monastery, and a study was in the most friendly way provided for me. The results of these studies I shall elsewhere show. But my discoveries in this library were my first joyful proofs of the incorrectness of the dissuasions made at home against my journey, founded upon the supposition that nothing new was to be discovered, after the exploration of so many who had preceded me. A man of widely celebrated name, and whose pursuits were the same as my own, had visited this monastery twenty years ago, and reports thus boldly upon it: 'It contains no manuscripts of

any literary interest.'—Tischendorff, p. 30.

But Tischendorff was not yet satisfied. He had heard of a walled-up library in the custody of the Patriarch, and visited that high functionary respecting it, in company with the Austrian consul-general:—

'We rapidly approached the object of our visit. The consulgeneral told him, that I was a profound Hellenist, although I had never been in Greece. The patriarch then called for a printed Greek book in folio. I think it was a volume of Chrysostomus, and he requested me to read it. I presumed he wished to hear how the un-Grecians pronounce Greek, and I read him a couple of lines according to our Leipsic pronunciation. To my great mortification I did not succeed in this examination; I may fairly record it as a failure. The patriarch, upon this experiment, was of opinion, that I had scarcely yet learnt the alphabet. He intermingled a little mirth in our hasty explanations, but the mishap was not to be repaired. I conversed also in Greek with him; but the least mistake in the Romaic pronunciation, or even a false accent-I had latterly become accustomed to pronounce the Greek according to its quantity—he urged harshly in confirmation of his opinion. It would seem that he had the delicate ear of a Parisian lady. It was now,

indeed, difficult to make him comprehend, that my studies of manuscripts could be of any consequence.

'My Codex Ephrämi Syri rescriptus sounded like a pleasant fable. Upon hearing of it, he retorted with, how could I read manuscript,

when I could not even read a printed text?

'The consul began to lose his temper, and told him he might wholly rely upon him, and that our great object was only to obtain the privilege of the sight of his concealed library. Upon wishing to know why we so eagerly sought to see it, we informed him, that my object was to inspect the ancient codices of the original text of the New Testament, in order to derive a text from their combination, which might approach as closely as possible to what was written by the apostles. 'But,' he added, 'we have all that we require—we have the evangelists, we have the apostles, what can we desire more?' The idea of criticism seemed to have struck his ears, for the first time, in his ninety-first year. He became thoughtful and distrustful upon our explanations. At last he availed himself of the circumstance that the library was walled up, and could be entered only at a great outlay; whereupon we mentioned that we were willing to bear all the charges. Nevertheless, he seemed only apparently to concur, and we very speedily withdrew.'-Tischendorff, pp. 31, 32.

After many difficulties, our learned traveller at length found a powerful auxiliary in a German physician:—

'He made his professional intercourse, as family physician to the procurator of the patriarch, available for my object, and upon him some influence was gained by the representation that, upon my return to Europe, I should make an unfavourable report respecting this unapproachable walled-up patriarchal library. The procurator promised that he would have this library opened for me; but I was not present personally when this took place, and the number of manuscripts that I had the opportunity of examining from it was very small, whereas the remaining contents of the library consisted ostensibly of many thousand printed books. I strongly suspected that I was not ingenuously dealt with, yet those few manuscripts have yielded most welcome results. I occupied a whole day in this investigation in the house of the learned secretary of the procurator.'— Tischendorff, p. 33.

Tischendorff afterwards visited the Coptic monasteries in the Libyan sands, in the same search for manuscripts:—

'The special locality set apart for the library in the several monasteries, as I have already mentioned, is the tower chamber, which is accessible only by means of the drawbridge. No spot in the monastery could well be safer from the visits of the fraternity than this. Here are seen (I speak of the first monastery) the manuscripts

heaped indiscriminately together. Lying on the ground, or thrown into large baskets, beneath masses of dust, are found innumerable fragments of old, torn, and destroyed manuscripts. I saw nothing Greek; all was either Coptic or Arabic; and in the third monastery I found some Syriac, together with a couple of leaves of Ethiopic. The majority of the MSS. are liturgical, though many are biblical. From the fourth monastery the English have recently acquired an important collection of several hundred MSS for the British Museum, and this at a very small cost. The other monasteries contain, certainly, nothing of such consequence, yet, much might be found to reward the labour of the search. The monks themselves understand extremely little about the matter. Not one among them, probably, is acquainted with the Coptic, and they merely read mechanically the lessons of their ritual. The Arabic of the older MSS, but few can read. Indeed it is not easy to see what these monks know beyond the ordinary church service. Still their excessive suspicion renders it extremely difficult to induce them to produce their manuscripts, in spite of the extreme penury which surrounds them. Possibly they are controlled by the mandate of their patriarch. For my own part I made a lucky discovery of a multitude of Coptic parchmentsheets of the sixth and seventh centuries, already half destroyed, and completely buried beneath a mass of dust. These were given to me without hesitation; but I paid for the discovery by severe pains in the throat, produced by the dust I had raised in the excessive heat.' -Tischendorff, p. 52.

Such a man as our author would of course examine, with interest, the manuscripts in the library of the monastery of Mount Sinai, which has been so often mentioned by travellers:—

I was most anxious to see another remarkable MSS of Sinai; this is a gospel said to have been extant in the palace of the emperor Theodosius. Cyrillus had not seen it, notwithstanding his function of librarian; but another brother, as well as Signor Petro, gave me a precise description of it. Thence, as well as from previous communications made to me about it at Cairo, the MSS. I conceive may be of the eleventh century. But all my exertions, both conciliatory and imperative, were in vain. The explanation ran that the MSS. were in the archiepiscopal chapel, whose comptroller, who had but recently taken office, was not to be found. Upon my return to Cairo, the bishop there assured me that it had been sent a few years before to Constantinople, to the archbishop, for the purpose of being copied. But even in Constantinople I found no trace of it.

'This was a genuine instance upon all sides of the Graca fides, Pointedly as I taxed the brotherhood with falsehood, they quietly submitted to the accusation. The prior is a native of Crete; St. Paul's notorious character of the Cretes (the Cretes are always hars) he seems to verify in the present day. I now believe that the manuscript for which Lord Prudhoe offered some years ago two hundred and fifty pounds, and which was not accepted only because they

could not agree about the division of the proceeds, has really been sold to the English. As it would be a disgrace to the monastery, they fancy they dare not admit it. But if it be in England, I wish Christian literature joy of the acquisition of the new treasure; for, that it may be speedily communicated to the real Christian church, is a wish towards whose fulfilment erudite men are doubtlessly already labouring.'—Tischendorff, p. 106.

The author inserts an interesting 'Epistle to an illustrious patroness upon my Biblico-critical researches,' which we may recommend to the special attention of our readers, although many who take up the book will pass it over. We should be glad to transfer it to our pages, but are compelled reluctantly to content ourselves with this reference to it.

We have given these extracts to illustrate the character of our traveller's researches; and must abstain from the rich abundance of perhaps more pleasant matter, in order to secure room for a few paragraphs from the larger work of Dr. Wilson.

It seems that the resident Fellahin of Petra claim to be descendants of the Israelites. This is certainly a new discovery, and whatever value we attach to the claim, the statement involves some matter of interest.—

'The most interesting of our conferences with the Fellahin of WadiMusa were those which referred to their own position in the human family. Having been struck with the peculiarity of their countenance and dress, we asked the Sheikh and some of his dependents whom we had invited to our tents, if they considered themselves a distinct Arabian tribe, or a portion of any known Arabian community. Their reply was startling: 'Lá nahnu aulád Beni-Isráyen.' 'No; we are the offspring of the Beni-Israel."

A conversation then followed, which Dr. Wilson gives, together with a list which he obtained of the names in common use among them. He then adds:—

'With this interrogation they expressed a wish to bring the conversation to a close, begging us, at the same time, to inform all English travellers to make payments on account of Wadi Musa, directly to themselves and not to the camel Sheikhs. Simple as was the information we received from them, it is not without the As they consider themselves distinct from the highest interest. Arabs, and have no intermarriage with them, it is extremely probable that they are descended from some of the older races, commingled with one another it may be, who anciently inhabited Idumea. Though in their features and personal appearance, and even dress, as in the ringlets of hair above the ear which some of them wear, they certainly resemble the Jews who are settled in the east, particularly those of Yemen and Bombay; and though they denominate themselves Beni-Israel, they may not belong to the family of Jacob, but of Esau, which, as we learn from Josephus, embraced the Jewish

faith. It is worthy of notice that the first name of a man which they mentioned as current among them was that of Esau; and that Matshabah, one of their female names, seems, by a bold anagram not unusual in the formation of Arabic words from the Hebrew, to resemble Bashemath, the wife of Esau. Aidah too, one of the female names, is like that of Adah, another of Esau's wives. Most of the names including even those which are found in the Old Testament. are common to the Tekahim of Wadi Musa and the Arabs. The number of Old Testament names in proportion to others, however, is greater than I have found in any list so limited as that we obtained from these people. It is curious to see that between 'The Times of Ignorance,' of which all the Arabs speak, and the prevalence of Islam, they interpose the advent to the country of the Beni-Israel; and that they point to the simple excavations of the north west of Petra, as particularly the work of the Beni-Israel, -or, as I have supposed, the Edomites,—properly distinguishing them from the more artistic excavations which they ascribe to the Nasrani or Nazarenes, or indefinitely, 'foreigners.' We were much gratified by learning the facts which I have stated. They increase the regret which we feel that travellers hitherto have made little or no inquiry into the circumstances of this curious people.' — Wilson, pp. 330 -332.

Dr. Wilson did not succeed better than his predecessors in getting access to the tomb of the patriarchs—the cave of Macphelah, at Hebron. He therefore gives us the description furnished by Ali Bey, unaware, probably, that this is known to have been a pure fabrication, from the information of Sir Moses Montefiore, who with his lady and Dr. Loewe, was, as a mark of special and extraordinary distinction, admitted into the interior of the mosque containing the tomb, in the year 1838. See the note on Gen. xxiii. 9, in De Sola 'New Translation of the Sacred Scriptures.'

At Nablous (Shechem), Dr. Wilson paid much attention to the Samaritans. He found that they held the doctrine of the resurrection to be proved by Deut. xxxii. 39; and the personality of Satan by Deut. xiii. 13, and xv. 9. He was particularly anxious to ascertain their views respecting the Messiah; and was told by their priest that the 'Messiah' was not one of their terms, but that they did not generally object to its use. They still expect a great instructor and guide, whom they call Hathab, to appear in the world.

There was an interesting adventure at Jacob's Well, thus related:—

'On arriving at Jacob's well, we found the mouth of it, which is in the middle of the ruins of a church, by which it was formerly surmounted, covered with two large stones. These we were unable

ourselves to remove; but a half-dozen sturdy Arabs, from a small hamlet close by, did the needful for us, in expectation, of course, of a due reward. The opening over the well is an orifice in a dome or arch, less than two feet in diameter. Our Samaritan friend was the first to enter. He held by a piece of rope, which we kept in our hands, till, swinging himself across the mouth of the well, properly so called, he found footing on the margin of the excavation, over which the dome extends. Mr. Smith and myself, dispensing with the superfluous parts of our dresses, followed his example; the Jew Mordecai and Dhanjibháí, whom we thought it expedient to leave without, keeping fast hold of the rope, till, with the assistance of Jacob, we got a firm footing beside him. The Arabs entered, one after another, without difficulty. All within was hitherto darkness; but, by the aid of a packet of lucifers, we lighted our candles, and were able to look down the well to a considerable depth. It was now time to disclose our plan of operation to our native attendants. 'Jacob,' said we, 'a friend of ours, an English traveller, and minister, (the Rev. Andrew Bonar, of Collace,) dropped the five books of Moses, and other inspired records, into this well, about three years ago, and if you will descend, and bring them up, we shall give you a handsome bakshish.' 'Bakshish!' said the Arabs, kindling at the sound, 'if there is to be a bakshish in the case, we must have it, for we are the lords of the land.' 'Well, down you go,' said we, throwing the rope over their shoulders, 'and you shall have the bakshish.' 'Nay, verily,' said they, you mean to hang us; let Jacob do what he pleases.' Jacob was ready at our command; and when he had tied the rope round his body, below his shoulders, he received our parting instructions. We asked him to call out to us the moment that he might arrive at the surface of the water; and told him, that we should so hold the rope as to prevent him from sinking, if there was any considerable depth of the element. We told him also to pull out one of the candles with which he had stored his breast, and to ignite it when he might get below. As he looked into the fearful pit, on the brink of which he stood, terror took hold of him, and he betook himself to prayer, in the Hebrew tongue. We, of course, gave him no interruption in his solemn exercises, as, in the circumstances of the case, we could but admire the spirit of devotion which he evinced. On a signal given, we let him go. The Arabs held with us the rope, and we took care that he should descend as gently as possible. When our material was nearly exhausted, he called out, 'I have reached the bottom; and it is, at present, scarcely covered with water.' Forthwith he kindled his light; and, that he might have every advantage, we threw him down a quantity of dry sticks, with which he made a blaze, which distinctly showed us the whole of the well, from the top to the bottom. He held the end of the rope at its lower part; and we put a knot upon it at the margin above, that we might have the exact measurement when Jacob might come up. After searching for about five minutes for the Bible, among the mud and stones at the bottom, our kind friend joyfully

called out, 'It is found, it is found, it is found!' We were not slow. it may be supposed, in giving him our congratulations. The prize he carefully put into his breast, and then he declared his readiness. with our aid, to make the ascent. Ready, however, he was not to move. He was evidently much frightened at the journey which lav before him to the light of day; and he was not slow to confess his fears. 'Never mind,' cried Mordecai to him, from the top, on observing his alarm, 'you will get up, by the help of the God of Jacob.' He betook himself again to prayer, in which he continued for a much longer time than before his descent. When we got him in motion, he dangled very uncomfortably in the air, and complained much of the cutting of the rope under his arm-pits. By-and-bye he became We found it no easy matter to get him pulled up, as we had to keep the rope from the edge of the well, lest it should snap asunder. When he came into our hands he was unable to speak; and we laid him down on the margin of the well, that he might 'Where is the bakshish?' were the first words collect his breath. which he uttered, on regaining his faculty of speech. It was immediately forthcoming, to the extent of about a sovereign, and to his fullest satisfaction. A similar sum we divided among our Arab assistants. The book, from having been so long steeped in the water and mud below, was, with the exception of the boards, reduced to a mass of pulp. In our effort to recover it, we had ascertained the depth of the well, which is exactly seventy-five feet. Its diameter is about nine feet. It is entirely hewn out of the solid rock, and is a work of great labour. It bears marks about it of the greatest an-'The well is deep,' was the description given of it by the woman of Samaria to our Lord. It still, as now noticed, has the same character, although, to a considerable extent, it is, perhaps, filled with the stones which are thrown into it, to sound it, by travellers and pilgrims.'—Wilson, 2, 54-57.

In this transaction our travellers do not seem altogether free from blame. They might have satisfied their curiosity as to the depth of the well without exposing poor Jacob to a risk they were themselves unwilling to incur. And it was somewhat culpable to send him down without being provided with sufficient means of getting him up again. Travellers fresh from Europe would hardly have managed the business in this way; but those who have been long resident in the East, do inevitably contract some of that comparative disregard of human life and safety which prevails around them.

In concluding our notice of these interesting works, we should state, that the value of Dr. Wilson's is much enhanced by some very excellent maps; and there is a goodly sprinkling of engravings, mostly on wood, several of which represent scenes and objects not already made familiar to the public by engravings.

ART. IV.—The First Report of the Central Protestant Association of France, 23rd April, 1847. Paris. 8vo. 1847.

The signs of steady, if not of rapid religious changes, are increasing in France; and all Europe is interested in the progress of those changes being as much undisturbed by internal convulsion, as they seem likely to be free from foreign intrigue. In times past, the sanguine and sincere members of the struggling Huguenot church were too often sacrificed to the selfish secular policy of foreigners. A recurrence of that evil is not to be apprehended so much as indifference to its prospects; notwithstanding, that a correct view of those prospects must promote

the peaceful settlement of some great difficulties.

Not to insist on the internal reforms demanded in the catholic communion by the followers of Abbé Chatel; or on the late abandonment of pure Roman translations by a catholic bishop (of Chartres), there is going on among the protestants a complex work of extreme importance in the same direction. The several protestant societies now forming, and in progress, in various parts of the country, aim both at the spiritual and moral improvement of their own body, and at the conversion of the Roman catholics. Their means of attaining these objects are primary schools for the masses; colleges for the more advanced, and the pastors; schools of industry for criminals, and the abandoned; home and foreign missions; new churches; the visitation of hospitals and gaols; the distribution of the scriptures, and of pious books; and the vindication of religious rights by appeals to the legislature, to courts of justice, to the administration, and to the public.

During several years, voluntary societies have been vigorously extending these means of action; and a new one, whose first report stands at the head of this article, was founded in April last.

No materials exist for ascertaining the exact number of protestants in France at any period. Before the great persecutions begun in the reign of Lous xIV., they were stated by some authorities at one-twelfth of the whole population; others have said that they were then two millions in number. The exiles in the seven emigrations which took place between 1666 and 1744, have been fixed by able writers, with much probability, at 600,000 souls. The single emigration immediately consequent on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, has been estimated by an impartial and recent inquirer, at more than 240,000, after a careful examination of original documents. The account of these emigrations, by Cardinal de Bausset, in

his Life of Bossuet, offers a different view of the case; but in terms which give credibility to the alleged great extension of French protestantism in our day. The cardinal, after endeavouring to show that what he calls the mild treatment of the protestants by Louis xiv., for twenty years before the revocation of the edict of Nantes, must have conciliated and speedily converted them all,—although the silencing of pastors, the closing of churches, and the exclusion of protestants from public employments, were parts of that mild treatment,—enlarges upon the fatal abuse of the king's power, and the misdirection of his policy by the minister Louvois.

'It is possible,' he says, 'that this minister sincerely believed his plan would succeed; and then misled by daily reports of numerous conversions, he thought the protestants would disappear under the influence of missionaries sent to preach among them, and by the effect of liberality to the converted, and by simple discouragement, without personal violence, to the uncomplying. The delusion was kept up by the readiness with which thousands of protestants—nay, whole towns in mass, became catholic. Afterwards an unexpected resistance excited the vindictive feelings of the Marquis de Louvois, who treated the protestants as rebellious subjects, not as men simply exercising religious freedom. Thence arose the cruel dragonnades, and civil war aggravated by religious animosities, and by dangerous alliances with foreign powers.

'All now deplore the calamities of that period; and all hold that these violences were neither accordant with the character of Louis

XIV., nor with the public interests.

But in the absence of correct statistical notions such as modern science affords, it is very difficult to calculate the amount of the protestant emigration. The figures usually stated can neither be admitted nor rejected with confidence. The protestant writers Basnage, La Martiniere, Larrey, and Benoit leave the case in uncertainty by loosely carrying it from two hundred thousand to four hundred thousand. The Duke of Burgundy, in a remarkable memoir addressed to Louis XIV, his grandfather, reduces the number to sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirty-two, at most.'

The Cardinal admits that, even at so low a calculation, the sufferings of the emigrants must have been dreadful. But the numbers of those who remained is proved, he says, to have been large, by the great quantity of lands handed down by protestant ancestors, whose possessions were expressly respected by an article in the decree of revocation.*

It is these remains of the ancient protestant population, along

^{*} Histoire de J. B. Bossuet, Eveque de Meaux, Composeé sur les MSS. Originaux. Par M. de Bausset. Versailes, 1814. Tom. 4, p. 73-80.

with many other families, who, without the tie of hereditary estates, have traditions of their ancient faith, that constitutes the great material for the revival of protestantism in France.

There has not yet been time since that faith obtained its constitutional charter, for a fair trial of its intrinsic strength. or for its obtaining a competent provision of pastors to teach its doctrines, and recommend its practice. Although persecution could not destroy pastors of protestantism, their existence has been well called 'mysterious,' and 'illegal,' so that when, in 1789, it was tolerated by law, its necessities, as a church, could not be correctly ascertained. Then came the reign of terror which cast aside all creeds. With the restoration of order, the few pastors who survived, shared the duty of whole provinces among Previous to 1802, the protestants had really no recognised hierarchy, nor spiritual government. Nor since the year when Napoleon formally resettled religious affairs, has any thing been done in its favour at all corresponding to its importance, or on equal terms with what the Roman catholic establishment has received.

Such is substantially the description of the past by one of the most zealous advocates of the protestant cause in France, Count Agenor de Gasparin.'* He reasonably anticipates a great change, when the means of protestant action shall be worthy of the protestant character. The success of that cause against tremendous odds, in former days, when the numerical minority of the Huguenots constituted the least of their difficulties, is a ground for confidence in its progress, when the equality enjoined by law shall be fairly worked out in practice. At the revolution, the annual revenue of the Roman catholic church in France was seven millions sterling; it is now about two millions. The old catholic establishment, of all sorts, male and female, amounted to one hundred and eighty thousand souls. It is now under forty thousand. Yet in the sixteenth century, the Huguenots formed two thousand one hundred and fifty distinct churches, without reckoning Alsace and Franche Comté, which were annexed to France by Louis xIV. When, however, the state shall be just to the protestants, and the remaining protestants shall be wise, their faith will, probably, spread with rapidity.

A particular example of the fall and revival of protestantism in France, which offers some circumstances peculiarly interesting to British readers, may be narrated with advantage. It is that of the ancient and modern church of Blois upon the Loire. In the sixteenth century Blois had its protestant

^{*} Interêts Generaux de Protestantism en France. Paris, 8vo., passim.

martyr, John Bertrand, condemned in 1552 by the parliament of Paris for heresy, and burned here. But it is recorded that the inhabitants of the two creeds lived, for the most part, peaceably together. Even at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. in 1572, although its horrors were exhibited at Blois, yet refugees from the slaughter at Orleans and Paris found shelter there. Early in the seventeenth century its protestant population amounted to at least seven hundred. Persecution reduced it to one hundred and fifty in 1698; and in 1840 none remained. The names only of some of the old families who had submitted to Romanism, survived; and in one remarkable case, a remote hamlet still preserves the traditions of its fidelity to old convictions, by the silent burial of its dead away from the hated ceremonies of the Romish church. To this very day in that hamlet, no prayer is read over the graves of the descendants of the reformers, because from father to son persecution has failed to reconcile them to the creed which their ancestors disapproved, and tradition has preserved to them no other remnant of the new faith but its hostility to the old one.

From 1600 to 1660, the protestant population of Blois was remarkable for its industry and intellectual advancement. The decline of its flourishing manufactures is dated from the period of the persecutions, which, at length, annihilated that population. For instance, in 1670, the corporation of jewellers and watchmakers had thirty-eight master members; in 1686, the year after the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the number was reduced to seventeen. Now there are only seven in the town, although watches are in universal use; and not one of the seven makes watches. They are all imported. Other trades

and manufactures shared the same fate.

The protestant Papins, of whom Denis* is now restored to deserved celebrity as a natural philosopher, were remarkable for their talents. Their books are still found in old libraries. Dr. Abel Brunyer, who, with the aid of Paul Reneaulme, was, perhaps, the real founder of modern botanical science, is scarcely known to us by name. Nevertheless, the distinguished talents of Brunyer as a naturalist, his high personal and professional character, the great share he had in the foundation of an important school of science and art at Blois, together with the

^{*} Since our article on Denis Papin appeared in July last, his portrait has been found at Marbourg, in Germany, where he was professor of Natural Philosophy from 1688 to 1714. It is a striking countenance—a perfect type of the intellectual puritan of the seventeenth century. A voluminous correspondence of Papin with Leibnitz has also been found at Marbourg. It is to be soon published with Papin's works, which are preserved in the Royal Society and in the British Museum.

religious persecution which attended his otherwise honoured old age, entitle him to more than a passing notice in a record

of the struggles of protestantism.

Abel Brunyer was born in 1573, and died in 1665, at the age of ninety-two. His father's family was originally of the Cevennes, from all time the seat of dissent from Romanism; and a member of it settled in Avignon in the fifteenth century. Whilst the old stock became modern protestants, the emigrants in the papal city were zealous catholics; and Abel's father adopting protestantism, lost all connection with them. He married Eve de Trouillet, a zealous protestant of Uzes; and narrowly escaped death at the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Abel was left an orphan at the age of fifteen. He preferred the medical profession to engaging himself in the civil war 'with the miserable choice,' as he expresses it himself, 'either of being a rebel to his king, or of cutting the throats of his fellow protestants.' Although he ultimately attained eminence as a physician, he was long prohibited taking the degree of doctor through the disabilities imposed by law upon all who were not Roman catholics. The edict of Nantes, issued in 1598, enabled him to practise the profession for which he had qualified himself by successful studies at Montpellier, and by a residence of three years at foreign universities and hospitals. He was then, through his protestant connections, appointed physician in the household of Henry IV.; and he held the post for more than sixty years, not less universally beloved than honoured by all the princes whom he served.* The Duke of Orleans employed him as a botanist in directing his gardens in Paris and at Blois; and Louis xiv. granted him a patent of nobility two years before his death, in 1663. He published two editions of his botanical works in his life-time, and Dr. Morison, a Scottish physician established at Blois, and the colleague of Brunyer, made large use of what might be considered a third edition of it for a famous botanical book which appeared in London, in 1669. Notwithstanding his high reputation, Brunver was among the first to be excluded from public employment, when Louis xIV. undertook the folly of establishing uniformity of religion in The son of Brunyer was a distinguished painter; and both of them refusing to abandon protestantism, they lost the favour of the court which they earned by long and faithful services. All the modern writers of the country unite in casting the

[·] Scarron thus mentions Brunyer :-

^{&#}x27;C'est grand dommage que cet homme, Ne croit pas au pape de Rome; Car à tout le monde il est cher, Quoi qu'en carême mangeant chair.'

severest reproof upon a policy, which thus inflicted mortification and ruin upon the enlightened and the good. Blois had afforded a retreat to our countrymen in the civil wars. Dr. Morison, above mentioned, a graduate of Aberdeen, and professor of botany at Oxford, was one of them; and the names of others are recorded in the last pages of the public register of burials, stopped in 1685 at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, which abolished all separate religious services. Some years later, in 1699, Addison resided at Blois, when all the English were gone, so that he hoped to learn the French language with-

out interruption.

A dreary interval followed. The Jesuits, who in the early part of the seventeenth century had adopted the improved opinions upon education introduced in modern times first by Luther* and then better by Lord Bacon, and who had for some time lived well with the Huguenots, especially in the colleges. at length sacrificed science to politics; and used their influence to destroy opposition, and crush liberty. They closed a chequered career by their ignominious expulsion from France. Their fall seemed to be the signal for the revival of protestantism generally; but at Blois no change occurred until after the revolution of 1830. The first attempt to establish a protestant church there failed; but a second made in 1844 has succeeded. An ancient chapel of graceful architecture of the eleventh century—a period of transition from the circular Romane to the pointed Gothic—is adopted for the 'Temple Protestant.' It was in ruins; but the style has been restored, or imitated with great The site is singularly beautiful, on a picturesque height, overlooking the fine old castle and walls of Blois. is retired without being remote; and the pastor's house with a school is attached with much judgment to the little church. It will contain about two hundred and eighty people, and usually has a congregation of one hundred. Some ten to fifteen are English residents. The others are French with a few military. Of the French, some come to scoff, and some who enter only to indulge mere curiosity, remain to pray. An interest is excited in the country to know more of protestantism; and a habit of comparing it with catholicism is growing up. How much depends on the prudence and ability of the new minister in such a case is obvious; and M. Cadiez, of Blois, is not unaware of the weightiness of his task. Young in his mis-

^{*} Luther insisted warmly upon the use of the mathematics, and of languages, with music. He advocated the education of women, and the foundation of public libraries filled with the best historians, ancient and modern, in the original tongues; with books of mathematics and mechanical arts, or polite literature and theology.

sion, he appreciates the counsels of experience. To the advice of an English visitor, that he should pursue his work with zeal tempered with affection, he responded earnestly—'Such shall be my standard.' And in a late controversy with no mean Roman catholic opponents, he returned a railing accusation against the 'pagan' Luther, and the 'pagan' Calvin, with a moderation that augurs well for his success. In other times two very different opinions in this respect divided the French pro-The fiery counterparts of our more vehement testant church. puritans were opposed to the advocates of extreme moderation on the question, how far to submit to grievances. Even then a party headed by the amiable pastor, Amyraud of Saumur, insisted upon the wisdom and propriety of peaceful agitation, which is now to be recommended by incomparably more powerful arguments, since personal danger has entirely ceased, and the means of success are multiplied an hundred fold in strength since reason has assumed her just position in society, and truth is respected, even when her dictates are received with reluct-The experience of the new church at Blois is already proving the superiority of peaceful appeals over persecution; for progress has been made in neighbouring spots, where formerly this peculiar character of the population is thought to have led them to resist all appeals.

The importance of correct views and principles respecting the condition and claims of protestantism in France, has been lately shewn at Nismes. If, in the sixteenth century, the advocates of feudal rights seized upon religious reform as an instrument of defence against the aggressions of despotism; if, in the seventeenth century, despotism sought to extinguish religious reform for the sake of an impossible religious uniformity; and if, in the eighteenth century, religious reform was abused by infidelity in its hatred of despotism in the State, in our day a more unscrupulous power is abroad in France with prodigious means of influence; and it is resorting with the very same instinct to the bad passions for the sake of its own bad ends. This is the corrupt power of quasi-representative government.

At Nismes, after the fall of Napoleon, the catholics and protestants, who are in pretty equal numbers there, were exposed to frightful convulsions in consequence of the exorbitant pretensions of the former. Previously the protestants had been in fault. After many years of difficulty, however, good feeling had grown up between them; and for ten years before 1846, it had prevailed to the great satisfaction of all wise men. The election of that year has revived the worst passions of the worst times. Disgraceful as 1841 was in the annals of electioneering in England, the year 1846 far exceeds its excesses in France

Intimidations and bribes of every kind, the grossest personal excesses; and lastly, religious animosities were resorted to by the agents of the minister so as to bring back to Nismes these worst passions of a former age. The consequence is, that upon every occasion of popular excitement an explosion is to be dreaded. The festival of the revolution of 1830, on the twenty-eighth, twenty-ninth, and thirtieth of July last was such an occasion; with extreme difficulty, and at the expense of some bloodshed, the authorities prevented a pitched battle between the two parties; and great anxiety is now felt for the public peace on this account. How infinitely important is it to sever religion from such strife, and to realise in a correct sense, the words of the divine Teacher, 'My kingdom is not of this world!'

ART. V.— The Sieges of Vienna by the Turks. From the German of Karl August Schimmer and other Sources. London: John Murray.

The present condition of the Mohammedan States contrasts strangely with their former magnificence and power. For three centuries they have been on the decline, and Europe, consequently, now finds it difficult to realize the danger with which they once threatened it. Restricted within narrowed boundaries, deprived of several of their most renowned and wealthy provinces, assailed by foreign intrigues, and perpetually suspicious of Russian policy, the sultans of Constantinople maintain their position with difficulty, and are absolutely disqualified for taking part in European politics. It was not, however, always so. Their relation to our political system was once vastly different from what it is now. Inexhaustible in their resources, unequalled in the extent of their territories, bold in counsel and daring in action, at once courageous and enthusiastic, uniting to hereditary valour the fiery bigotry of the Crescent, they looked towards Europe as their prey, and meditated the extension of their empire beyond Vienna and the im-Nor were these projects altogether visionary. Their power was proportioned to their ambition, and threatened in no dubious form both the liberties and the religion of Europe. Few general readers are aware of the actual condition of the Mohammedan and Christian powers at the commencement of the sixteenth century. They possess only a vague and indefinite impression of the events which marked that period, and fail, therefore, to realize the dangers which existed, or to recognize the interposing providence by which they were averted. The rise of the Mohammedan power, its marvellous progress, the height to which it attained, its fierce and deadly contest with western civilization, its rapid decline and present imbecility, are amongst the most memorable events of history. An intimate acquaintance with these facts is on many accounts desirable, and we are, therefore, glad to meet with the volume before us. Written for popular use, it is eminently adapted by its size and style for general circulation. Nothing, in the shape of general history, can well be imagined more deeply Its narrative is fraught with more than the charm of romance, while the heroic incidents it details, and the individual traits it unfolds, cannot fail to fascinate while

they instruct all classes of readers.

The capture of Constantinople, in 1453, was followed by a rapid extension of the Turkish power. Within a short period, Mohammed 11. subjected Persia, Greece, and the Morea, most of the islands of the Archipelago, and Trebisond on the coast of Asia Minor. His death, which occurred in 1481, spared Europe for a time the scourge he meditated; but the inscription which he directed to be made on his tomb, whilst it indicated his own policy, served to stimulate the ambition of his suc-'I wished to take Rhodes and subdue Italy,' were the ominous words in which, though dead, he continued to speak. His immediate successors Bajazet 11., and Selim 1., found employment for their victorious arms in other directions; but the son of the latter, 'the greatest of the Ottoman sovereigns,' revived the European designs of their predecessor, and in part accomplished them. 'In acquirements he was far beyond his age and country; in addition to the Turkish language, he was master of Persian and Arabic; he also understood Italian; and in that kind of metrical compositions which are called, in Turkish, Misen, the critics of that country pronounced him to exceed all others.' In the first year of his reign Soliman acquired, in Belgrade, the key of the Danube; and in the second, he conquered Rhodes, which Mohammed 11. had vainly attempted. The distracted state of Germany, and the treachery of John Zapolya, Count of Zips, greatly aided his success; when he proceeded, soon after the latter event, to invade Hungary. 'The Destruction of Mohacs,' a name given to the disastrous battle of the 20th August, 1526, determined the fate of the kingdom, and established the supremacy of the Turkish arms. Soliman was prevented, by disturbances in Asia, from immediately following up his success. He returned to his own dominions with two hundred thousand captives, 'soon to re-

appear in terrible power at the gates of Vienna itself.'

For this purpose he assembled an immense army in 1528: and, on the tenth of the following April, marched out of Constantinople at the head of two hundred thousand men. end of June he had passed the Hungarian frontier, and his main body was preceded by an advanced guard of thirty thousand under the command of Michael Oglou, one of the most sanguinary barbarians who had ever trod the soil of Europe. The atrocities practised by this horde surpass description. They knew no mercy, and observed no law, but slaughtered indiscriminately all ages and ranks. It was as though the avenging angel had passed over the land, so fearful was the desolation they wrought. Their example was early followed by the imperialists, who, having captured a body of Turkish light troops in the neighbourhood of Vienna, 'racked or tortured' them, before casting them bound into the Danube. The cruelties of the invaders were pleaded in justification of this policy, but no defence can avail the parties by whom it was practised. It was as unwise as barbarous, and re-acted with terrible force. the meantime, vigorous preparations were made for the defence of the capital.

'In Vienna the necessary preparations had now been made with almost superhuman exertion, but in such haste and with so little material, that they could only be considered as very inadequate to The city itself occupied then the same ground as at the emergency. present, the defences were old and in great part ruinous, the walls scarcely six feet thick, and the outer palisade so frail and insufficient, that the name Stadtzaun, or city hedge, which it bears in the municipal records of the time, was literally as well as figuratively appro-The citadel was merely the old building which now exists under the name of Schweizer Hof. All the houses which lay too near the wall were levelled to the ground; where the wall was specially weak or out of repair, a new entrenched line of earthen defence was constructed and well palisaded; within the city itself, from the Stuben to the Kärnthner or Carinthian gate, an entirely new wall, twenty feet high, was constructed with a ditch interior to the old, The bank of the Danube was also entrenched and palisaded, and from the drawbridge to the Salz gate protected with a rampart capable of resisting artillery. As a precaution against fire the shingles with which the houses were generally roofed were throughout the city removed. The pavement of the streets was taken up to deaden the effect of the enemy's shot, and watchposts established to guard against conflagration. Parties were detached to scour the neighbouring country in search of provisions, and to bring in cattle and forage. Finally, to provide against the possibility of a protracted siege, useless consumers, women, children, old men, and ecclesiastics were, as far as possible, forced to withdraw from the city. Though this latter measure was successful for its special purpose, and prevented any failure of subsistence during the investment of the city, it had the melancholy consequence that many of the fugitives met with massacre or captivity at the hands of the Turkish light troops. In the neighbourhood of Traismauer, for instance, in the very beginning of September, a body of no less than five thousand were unsparingly massacred by the Sackman.'—pp. 16, 17.

The main army under command of the Grand Vizier, appeared before the city on the 25th September. Its number is estimated at nearly three hundred thousand, of whom, however, only about one-third was fully armed. The suburbs had previously been destroyed by the Austrians, to prevent a near approach of the Turks; and all the bells of the city, with the exception of that of St. Stephen's, were silenced, in order to guard against false alarms. The lateness of the season rendered it important to the invaders to press the siege with vigour, and no measures were therefore omitted which promised to facilitate their success. The Turks were greatly deficient in artillery, and placed their chief reliance on mining operations, in which they were highly skilled. 'To meet the danger of the enemy's mines, guards were placed in all the cellars near the walls, trenches dug near the fort of the rampart, and drums, with peas strewed on their parchment, or tubs filled with water, placed at the suspected spots, to indicate by their vibration the neighbourhood of the Turkish labourers, and guide thereby the operations of the counter-miners. By these precautions, many of the enemy's galleries were discovered, and either ruined by counter-miners, or penetrated and robbed of their powder.'

Defeated in various assaults, the Sultan, who had now assumed the command, resolved on a yet more vigorous effort to seize his prey. His choicest troops were selected for the purpose, and the struggle was close and deadly. The fate of the city was in the utmost peril, and the tide of invasion was thrown back only by the perfect discipline and super-human courage of its defenders. The following passage sufficiently depicts the immi-

nency of the danger.

On the 11th, towards 9 A.M., a mine was sprung between the Karnthner and Stuben gates, which made an enormous breach, equivalent to an open gateway in the wall. Heavy bodies of men rushed on to the assault: a second mine was sprung at the Stuben gate, and, according to some accounts, the city was positively entered at this quarter by some of the enemy. This, however, is doubtful; but it is certain that a Turkish standard-bearer had mounted the wall, when

he was struck down by a musquet shot into the ditch. The assault and defence were continued with equal determination for three hours. Twelve hundred bodies were heaped up in the breach, and though new assailants seemed to spring from the earth, their efforts failed before the unshaken courage of the defenders. The conflict ceased at midday. The loss of the garrison was far less than that of the Turks; yet, at a general muster of the armed citizens which took place in the evening, six hundred and twenty-five were missing from the numbers mustered at the beginning of the siege. The wrath of the Sultan was kindled to the highest pitch. He stormed, entreated, promised, and threatened; and on the following day the assault was renewed. Again two mines exploded in the same quarter as before, and again the ruin of the wall was extensive. The Turks were in the breach sooner almost than their approach could be detected, as they thought, but the wall was scarcely down before its ruins were occupied by a company of Spaniards, with their colours flying and courage undepressed. The storm was fierce but short; the repulse was again complete, and depression and exhaustion prevailed in the Turkish ranks. From the towers of the city their officers were seen urging them forward with blows. In several places explosions were observed which did no injury to the walls. Although the attacks were several times repeated, and to a late hour in the evening, as the courage of the defenders rose that of the enemy quailed, and the latter's efforts were more and more easily repelled. The loss of the assailants could not be ascertained, as the Turks, according to their custom, carried off their dead.'-p. 35.

Three days afterwards, another assault was attempted; on the failure of which, Soliman abandoned all hopes of taking the city, and issued orders for retreat. The huts, forage, and every combustible article belonging to the Turkish army, were set on fire, into the flames of which an immense number of prisoners, of both sexes, were cast. The younger captives, boys and girls, were dragged along with the retiring columns into perpetual slavery. 'The glare of the conflagration and the shrieks of the sufferers, disturbed, through the night, the rest so dearly earned by the brave defenders of the city, and though their approaching deliverance might be read in the one, it was probably easy to conjecture from the others the horrors by which that deliverance was accompanied.'

The loss of the invaders during the siege has been variously estimated at from eighty to thirty thousand. The truth is, probably, below the latter number, as the storming parties only were greatly exposed. In genuine oriental style, the failure of the expedition was announced at Constantinople as a victory, and the Sultan made a triumphal entry into his capital on the

28th November.

Defeated in this object of his ambition, Soliman was far from

being satiated with blood. In the spring of 1532, he poured down upon Hungary and Styria with a force more numerous than that with which he had threatened Vienna, and several engagements took place by which myriads were immolated, and the land rendered desolate. We pass these over without comment, but must give an episode of the campaign of 1566, which has had few parallels in the history of human endurance and courage. Could anything alleviate the horror of war, it would be the spectacle of such heroism as that of the Count of Zriny.

'The Hungarian campaign of 1566 was distinguished by the famous siege of the small fortress of Szigeth, and the self-immolation of its defender, the Hungarian Leonidas, Nicholas, Count of Zriny. In early life he had distinguished himself at the siege of Vienna; and having pursued a successful career in arms, held under the present emperor the chief command on the right bank of the Soliman had undertaken the siege of Erlau; and the Pacha of Bosnia was on the march with reinforcements, when he was attacked near Siklos by Zriny, completely defeated, and slain. The Sultan, furious at this disaster, raised the siege of Erlau, and marched with one hundred thousand men upon Zriny, who, with scarcely two thousand five hundred, flung himself into Szigeth, with the resolution never to surrender it; a resolution to which his followers cheerfully bound themselves by an oath. To the utmost exertion of his vast military means of attack, Soliman added not only the seduction of brilliant promises, but the more cogent threat of putting to death the son of Zriny, who had fallen into his hands. All was in vain. The Sultan's letter was used by Zriny as wadding for his own musket; and for seventeen days the town held out against repeated assaults. The enfeebled garrison were then driven to the lower castle, and at last to the upper one. No hope remained of repelling another general assault, for which the Turkish preparations were carried forward with the utmost vigour under the eye of the Sultan, who, however, was not destined to witness their issue. On the 6th of September he was found dead in his tent, having thus closed, at the age of seventy six, by a tranquil and natural death, a reign of forty-five years, which for activity and variety of military enterprise, for expenditure of human life, and for the diffusion of the miseries of warfare, unmitigated by the conventional usages and inventions of later times, could scarcely find its parallel. His decease afforded no respite to the besieged. The event was kept a rigid secret from the soldiery by the Vizier Ibrahim, who adopted the Oriental precaution of putting to death the physicians in attendance. Zriny did not wait for the final assault. On the 8th September the Turks were pressing forward along a narrow bridge to the castle, when the gate was suddenly flung open, a large mortar, loaded with broken iron was discharged into their ranks, according to their own historians, killing six hundred of them, and close upon its discharge Zriny and his faithful band sallied forth to die. His

resolution was evinced by some characteristic preparations. From four swords he chose a favourite weapon which he had worn in the first campaigns of his youth, and, determined not to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, he wore no defensive armour. He fastened to his person the keys of the castle and a purse of a hundred ducats, carefully counted and selected, of the coinage of Hungary. 'The man who lays me out,' he said, 'shall not complain that he found nothing upon me. When I am dead, let him who may, take the keys and the ducats. No Turk shall point at me while alive with his finger,' The banner of the empire was borne before him by Laurence Juranitsch. In this guise, followed by his six hundred remaining comrades, he rushed upon the enemy, and by two musketshots through the body and an arrow in the head obtained the release he sought. With some of his followers the instinct of self-preservation prevailed so far that they retired from the massacre which followed into the castle, where some few were captured alive. It is said also that some were spared in the conflict by the Janissaries, who, admiring their courage, placed their own caps on their heads for the purpose of saving them. Three pachas, seven thousand Janissaries, and the scarcely credible number of twenty-eight thousand other soldiers, are said to have perished before this place.'-pp. 61, 62.

The second Turkish invasion occurred towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Austrian court long refused to credit the probability of such an event, and therefore neglected to make preparations for the storm that was gathering. vinced at length of the reality of the danger, they sought, at the eleventh hour, the friendship of John Sobieski, king of Poland, the most illustrious soldier of his age. A long course of slights had alienated him from the house of Austria, and thrown him into the arms of France. But the fate of Vienna now rested on his aid, and all the arts of diplomacy were employed to win him over. He had married the daughter of a French marquis, to whom he was passionately attached, but whose influence had commonly been detrimental to his peace and interests. She now exercised over him 'the dangerous fascination of a mistress,' and might probably have prevented his accession to the Austrian league, if her animosity against France had not been aroused by the disappointment of an intrigue which she had set on foot at Versailles, for the elevation of her father to a French dukedom. 'That other and sounder considerations had not their influence upon Sobieski's decision, it would be preposterous to suppose. Sincere and earnest to the verge of bigotry in his attachment to the Romish form of Christianity, he could not look with indifference to the probable success of the Turkish arms in Hungary and Austria.' The result was shown in the immediate preparation of a large military force, at the head of which the Polish monarch moved towards the Austrian capital. Leopold was no soldier, and the command of the combined armies therefore devolved on Sobi-Happily for Europe, he was equal to the post. military reputation inspired confidence, though his forces were greatly inferior to those of the Turks; and all Europe awaited the issue of a struggle, on which their religion and liberties In the meantime, the Austrian emperor, were suspended. Leopold, ingloriously fled from his capital, accompanied by about sixty thousand of the wealthier citizens. The courage of those who remained was, however, of the highest order; and the command of the city was intrusted to Ernest Rudiger, Count Stahremberg, who had signalized himself in the defence of Moravia, in 1681. He lost no time in repairing the neglected fortifications, and in making the best preparation which circumstances permitted for the approaching assault. So grossly remiss had been the Austrian court, that nothing could have saved the city if the Turks had pushed on towards Vienna with the promptitude that was looked for. Their delay gave a few hours' respite to Stahremberg, and when at length they did arrive, they found the brave commander in a condition to repulse them from its walls. The siege formally commenced on the 15th July, 1683, and every means which Turkish science and courage could suggest, were employed to force an entrance.

'The two commanders, Stahremberg and the Vizier, were alike indefatigable in their personal superintendence of their respective operations. The latter was carried every third day in a litter, made shot proof by plates of iron, into the approaches, inspecting the works, punishing the idle, and menacing the timid with his drawn sabre. He had also in the trenches his own peculiar posts sunk deep in the ground, and made bomb proof with planks and sand-bags. His favourite position, however, for general observation and direction was the tower of the church of St. Ulric, from which he overlooked the city, as Stahremberg did the camp from his memorable stone chair in the sculptured spire of St. Stephen '—p. 105.

By the middle of August, disease and scarcity began to prevail in the city; and the worst apprehensions spread amougst the inhabitants. The courage of the commander, however, suffered no abatement, and he was nobly seconded by the officers, and men who composed his garrison. Everything now depended on the speedy arrival of aid. Much time had been necessarily expended in collecting the forces of the empire, and these were yet at a considerable distance, and had numerous obstacles to surmount before they could render any effectual help to the besieged. In the meantime, the condition of affairs

in the city assumed a most serious aspect. The Turks made daily progress in their approaches, the numbers of the garrison were thinned, many of the best officers were slain or wounded, and Stahremberg himself began to fear the issue. It was of the utmost importance that Sobieski should hasten his advance. A day, nay, an hour, might determine the fate of the city, for it trembled in the balance, and no mortal foresight could predict what would be the result of the next assault. It was so completely surrounded as to cut off all egress from the besieged. Several messengers had been intercepted and slain, and the hope of communicating with their friends was in consequence abandoned. The perilous enterprise was, however, undertaken; and the skill and courage with which it was executed, are thus described. The incident is full of romance, and will awaken breathless interest in all classes of readers.

'At last George Francis Kolschitzki, a partisan officer whose name deserves honourable record for the importance of his services, and the courage and dexterity with which they were executed, stepped forward. A Pole by birth, and previously an interpreter in the service of the Oriental merchant's company, he had become a citizen of the Leopoldstadt, and had served since the siege began in a free corps. Intimately conversant with the Turkish language and customs, he willingly offered himself for the dangerous office of passing through the very camp of the Turks to convey intelligence to the Imperial army. On the 13th of August, accompanied by a servant of similar qualifications, he was let out through a sallyport in the Rothenthurm, and escorted by an aide-de-camp of the Commandant as far as the palisades. He had scarcely advanced a hundred yards, when he became aware of a considerable body of horse which advanced at a rapid pace towards the place of his exit. Being as yet too near the city to escape suspicion, he hastily turned to the left and concealed himself in the cellar of a ruined house of the suburb near Altlerchenfeld, where he kept close till the tramp of the passing cavalry had died away. He then pursued his course, and, singing a Turkish song, traversed at an idle pace and with an unembarrassed air the streets of Turkish tents. His cheerful mien and his familiar strain took the fancy of an Aga, who invited him into his tent, treated him with coffee, listened to more songs and to his tale of having followed the army as a volunteer, and cautioned him against wandering too far and falling into Christian hands. Kolschitzki thanked him for the advice, passed on in safety through the camp to beyond its verge, and then as unconcernedly made for the Kahlenberg and the Danube. Upon one of its islands he saw a body of people, who, misled by his Turkish attire, fired upon him and his companion. These were some inhabitants of Nussdorf, headed by the bailiff of that place, who had made this island their temporary refuge and home. Kolschitzki explained to them in German the circumstances of his mission, and

entreated them to afford him an immediate passage over the river. This being obtained, he reached without further difficulty the bivouac of the Imperial army, then on its march between Angern and Stillfried. After delivering and receiving dispatches, the adventurous pair set out on their return, and after some hairbreadth escapes from the Turkish sentries, passed the palisades and re-entered the city by the Scottish gate, bearing a letter from the Duke. The safe return of the bearer of this dispatch was announced as usual by rockets as night signals, and in the day by a column of smoke from St. Stephen's spire. On the 21st August the daring Kolschitzki was on the point of repeating his adventurous undertaking, when a deserter, who had been recaptured, and was standing under the gallows with the halter adjusted, confessed that he had furnished to the Turks an accurate description of Kolschitzki's person. He was himself deterred by this warning, but his gallant companion, George Michailowich, found means twice to repeat the exploit, with the same safety and success as in the first instance. On his second return he displayed a remarkable presence of mind and vigour of arm. Having all but reached the pallisades, he was joined by a Turkish horseman, who entered into familiar conversation with him. As it was, however, impossible for him to follow further his path towards the city, in such company, by a sudden blow he struck his unwelcome companion's head from his shoulders, and springing on the riderless horse, made his way to the gate. He did not, however, after this success, tempt his fortune again.'-pp. 111-113.

The long looked-for aid at length arrived. On the evening of the 10th September, the guns of the combined army were heard in Vienna, and the effect was electrical. The population crowded to the highest roofs to catch sight of their deliverers; and a messenger from Stahremberg swam the Danube by night, bearing a brief letter to the imperial general, in which was briefly written, 'No time to be lost!—no time, indeed, to be lost!' The communication was answered by a discharge of rockets, and the besieged prepared for a sally in aid of their advancing friends. The decisive battle occurred on the 12th, and, as was customary on such occasions, the offices of religion were employed to stimulate the courage of the military. The following description sets before us the scene that was enacted early in the morning, around the chapel of the Margrave, on the crest of the Leopoldsberg.

'On a space kept clear round the chapel, a standard with a white cross on a red ground was unfurled, as if to bid defiance to the blood red flag planted in front of the tent of Kara Mustapha. One shout of acclamation and defiance broke out from the modern crusaders as this emblem of a holy war was displayed, and all again was hushed as the gates of the castle were flung open, and a procession of the princes of the empire and the other leaders of the Christian host

moved forward to the chapel. It was headed by one whose tonsured crown and venerable beard betokened the monastic profession. soldiers crossed themselves as he passed, and knelt to receive the blessing which he gave them with outstretched hands. the famous Capuchin Marco Aviano, friend and confessor to the emperor, whose acknowledged piety and exemplary life had earned for him the general reputation of prophetic inspiration. He had been the inseparable companion of the Christian army in its hours of difficulty and danger, and was now here to assist at the consummation of his prayers for its success. Among the stately warriors who composed his train, three principally attracted the gaze of the curious. The first in rank and station was a man somewhat past the prime of life, strong limbed and of imposing stature, but quick and lively in speech and gesture, his head partly shaved in the fashion of his semi-Eastern country, his hair, eyes, and beard, dark-coloured. His majestic bearing bespoke the soldier king, the scourge and dread of the Moslem, the conqueror of Choczim, John Sobieski. His own attire is said to have been plain, but we gather from his letters that in his retinue he displayed a Sclavonic taste for magnificence which strongly contrasted with the economical arrangements of Lorraine. and even of the two electors. Painters, and others studious of accuracy, may be glad to know that on this occasion the colour of his dress was sky blue, and that he rode a bay horse. An attendant bearing a shield, with his arms emblazoned, always preceded him, and his place in battle was marked by another who carried a plume on his lance point, a signal more conspicuous, though less inseparable, than the famous white plume of Henry IV. On his left was his youthful son Prince James, armed with a breastplate and helmet, and, in addition to an ordinary sword, with a short and broad-bladed sabre, a national weapon of former ages; on his right was the illustrious and heroic ancestor of the present reigning house of Austria, Charles of Lorraine. Behind these moved many of the principal members of those sovereign houses of Germany whose names and titles have been already specified. At the side of Louis of Baden walked a youth of slender frame and moderate stature, but with that intelligence in his eye which pierced in after years the cloud of many a doubtful field, and swayed the fortunes of empires. This was the young Eugene of Savoy, who drew his maiden sword in the quarrel in which his brother had lately perished. The service of high mass was performed in the chapel by Aviano, the king assisting at the altar, while the distant thunder of the Turkish batteries formed strange accompaniment to the Christian choir. The princes then received the sacrament, and the religious ceremony was closed by a general benediction of the troops by Aviano. The king then stepped forward and conferred knighthood on his son, with the usual ceremonies, commending to him as an example for his future course the great commander then present, the Duke of Lorraine. He then addressed his troops in their own language to the following effect:- 'Warriors and friends: Yonder in the plain are our enemies, in numbers greater, indeed, than at Choczim, where we trod them under foot. We have to fight them on a foreign soil, but we fight for our own country, and under the walls of Vienna we are defending those of Warsaw and Cracow. We have to save to-day, not a single city, but the whole of Christendom, of which that city of Vienna is the bulwark. The war is a holy one. There is a blessing on our arms, and a crown of glory for him who falls. You fight not for your earthly sovereign, but for the King of kings. His power has led you unopposed up the difficult access to these heights, and has thus placed half the victory in your hands. The infidels see you now above their heads: and with hopes blasted and courage depressed, are creeping among valleys destined for their graves. I have but one command to give,—follow me. The time is come for the young to win their spurs.' Military music and the shouts of thousands greeted this pertinent harangue, and as it closed, five cannon shots gave the signal for the general advance.'—pp. 137—139,

We need not continue the narrative. Vienna was saved by the military genius of Sobieski, and the ingratitude and baseness of Austria were shown in the return he experienced. These are matters of notoriety, and we must leave our readers to trace them in the page of general history. In the meantime, we strongly recommend the perusal of this small volume, to all who are desirous of informing themselves respecting some of the most memorable events which the history of Europe details. We have read it with deep interest, and not without instruction. While rejoicing in the main result, we deplore the brutalizing tendency of the scenes through which it has led us, and hope the time will yet come, when men shall see the folly and wickedness of the wholesale murders in which they have hitherto gloried.

ART. VI.—A Plan for the Establishment of a General System of Secular Education in the County of Lancashire. London: Simpkin and Marshall.

To combat for truth is more congenial to a generous mind than to triumph in victory; and the consciousness of maintaining the right is a richer reward than the highest literary honors. Yet 'no pleasure is comparable to the standing upon the vantage ground of truth; a hill not to be commanded, and where the air is always clear and serene; and to see the errors and wanderings, and mists and tempests, in the vale below: so always that this prospect be with pity, and not with swelling or pride.' It is not as literary athlete that we contend in the educational arena. We have no secular interests to maintain, or partisan ends to compass. We count not on the mighty phalanx as our associates, or on great captains as our leaders. Yet, if our success be as sure as our cause is honorable, we shall welcome all the hazard, and give the praise to Him to whom it is due.

A few preliminary observations demand attention of the Christian, as well as the statesman; and we bespeak for them meet Any attempt to distinguish secular from religious, or sectarian from catholic, necessarily involves a peculiarity in opinion, tantamount to a creed in religion. To enforce, or sustain by taxation, such discrimination, is, virtually, to clothe the magistrate with power to settle matters of conscience. To employ, or exclude from employment, men who blink the question, or who scrupulously recognise such differences, is to If, moreover, such reward or to punish sectarian opinions. reward be administered under the sanctions of law, not only may the honest and conscientious be branded, and his prospects be marred, to the advantage of a subsidized competitor; but the persecuted citizen is taxed and effectually plundered to uphold a system which he deprecates as injurious and hostile to Virtue is degraded, and the hireling is set in the his principles. place of honour. But in the processes of national education, where the loftiest and most sacred obligations must be subjected to influences, a yet more perilous consequence is to be pondered. Bacon says, 'We see men are more curious what they put into a new vessel, than into a vessel seasoned; and what mould they lay about a new plant than about a plant corroborate; so as the weakest terms and times of all things use to have the best applications and helps.'

The voluntary teacher is the greatest benefactor to an observant and docile people. And whatever is done, or has a tendency to remove so legible and living an epistle of the great and salutary

doctrine of independent voluntaryism as this practical demonstrator is, will be pernicious to freedom and good government. The school is in this question a stepping-stone to the church; and the infant pupil who practically learns the value of independent education, is father to the man who supports his religion because he It is too much the practice, when an object is to be gained, to disparage the amount of impression and bias received by pupils in the earliest years of their school life. The simile of the poet, when he says, 'As the twig is bent, the tree's inclined,' conveys a practical, moral lesson; and the soundest philosophy contemplates the sensitive mind, in its earliest processes, as deriving its most permanent impressions. An error often repeated, comes at last to be believed as true; and a sophism may pass current as an undisputed principle, because it has not been exposed. With many plausible pretensions, education has been advocated as a mere secular gift or acquirement; professing to leave religious instruction to the parent or the pastor, it has been urged as the province of the magistrate to supply instruction in things secular. The application of the term is not always clearly defined; nor can we profess fully to comprehend what is meant in such a connection; but, as it is understood by us, we do not think it possible that mere secular knowledge can be made the sole element of youthful education in the several classes of schools; especially such as are contemplated for infancy, childhood, and the neglected juvenile population.

'It is a moral impossibility,' says a writer in the Manchester 'Times,' to educate the mind without a mixture of religious motive, principles, and sanctions. The intercourse of the teacher and pupil, and of the scholar with his fellow during six or seven hours daily, must be subject to some influence nobler than law, order, or fees. The form and power of letters in sounds and syllables, of figures in their relation to number and quantity, of objects in animate and inanimate nature:—the art of spelling, writing, and ciphering, and geography, supply only the mechanical symbols which the mind must appreciate and which education must employ. In mental education there is an influence which has been compared to that of light and the sweet odours. Seneca thus elegantly discriminates: 'Qui in solem venit, licet non in hoc venerit, colorabitur; qui in unguentaria taberna resederunt, et paulo diutius commorati sunt, odorem secum loci ferunt.' Though we should not sit in the very sunshine, it is impossible to approach the light without deriving some faint colouring from it; and we cannot long remain in the perfumed cottage without bearing away some of its fragrance. There is something which the opening mind receives under the process of education which is not signified by diagrams or algebraic characters, and which is not dependent on the methodical tediousness of rules of grammar: not only is every generous principle derived from nature clothed with new strength, but thought itself is stimulated and loftier objects become familiar. The

mind is a part of nature, and particularly deserves profound and intense investigation. To the pupil as well as to the instructor, it is constantly though imperceptibly insinuating its claims, and asserting its Divine origin and moral destiny.'

The philosopher, no less than the theologian, will appreciate as a paramount principle in national government the primary law of nature, which constitutes the parent the responsible guardian of the child. Not only should domestic ties be held sacred, but the obligations and responsibilities of the family should be developed and strengthened rather than infringed or neutralised. It is the parent's duty to provide education for the child; to judge what is best, and to watch that his offspring suffer no neglect while under mental training. It is the child's duty to confide in a parent's competency and fidelity, and to rise up in deference to the honor and authority of the father and mother. As a general law, no authority can wisely or beneficially interpose between them. But a state provision for education, and an authorised executive control over scholastic arrangements, as far as they tend to supersede the natural guardian's vigilance and responsibility, does interpose. degree of interposition is not now the matter in question. more that any scheme depends on the decision of public functionaries, and on the provision of compulsory taxation, and the more that its administration is entrusted to corporate power, the less will the domestic guardian possess of influence or authority.

Public schools founded by benevolence, or sustained as chartered incorporations; the Blue-coat school, Christ's Hospital. and other endowed charities for education, as well as the English universities, afford, in the history of their alumni, painful illustrations of the baneful alienations and negligence to which we The whole history of governmental institutions, down even to the parochial seminary, with its partially endowed pedagogue, supply demonstrations of the operation of this transference of parental watchfulness and obligation, and this unnatural assumption of governors, tutors, and inspectors. The check upon these has been effectual only, perhaps, after long complaints, where free and frequent communications have been enjoyed between the parent and the child. The greatest proportion of British youth is trained under the direct control of the parent. The natural law provides and works for the well-being of society in an amount far larger than is that in which it can be proved to have failed. Thousands of parents have provided for the education of their children amidst many difficulties, while, it may be, only hundreds have altogether neglected their duty. Is then a natural law to be abrogated, or its operation paralysed, where

the virtuous are obedient; and is an expedient which violates this law to be adopted to meet the vicious negligence of the

criminal part of the community?

The economist who understands and appreciates the value of a philosophical principle in the political relations of society, and in the operations and intercourse of the several members of the community, will find here matters not undeserving calm and thoughtful consideration. He will not be carried away by the plausibilities of a pseudo-philanthropy, or scared by the monstrous conjurations of mere theorists. He will not fear to carry out a sound and just principle in application, though rendered opprobrious for temporary and partial interests. To him there will be no absurdity in the questions-Can education be made a marketable commodity? Can it be best produced by monopoly or by competition? Will its value and estimate rise in proportion to its worth and quality? And will its extension be secured in proportion to its freedom The author of 'The Wealth of and natural remuneration? Nations' deemed such considerations important enough to find a place in his philosophy, and thus replied:

'The endowments of schools and colleges have necessarily diminished more or less the necessity of application in the teachers. Their subsistence as far as it arises from their salaries, is evidently derived from a fund altogether independent of their success and reputation in their par-

ticular professions.

'In some universities the salary makes but a part, and frequently but a small part of the emoluments of the teacher, of which the greater part arises from the honoraries or fees of his pupils. The necessity of application, though always more or less diminished, is not in this case entirely taken away. Reputation in his profession is still of some importance to him, and he still has some dependency upon the affection, gratitude, and favourable report of those who have attended upon his instructions; and these favourable sentiments he is likely to gain in no way so well as by deserving them, that is, by the abilities and diligence with which

he discharges every part of his duty.'

'The improvements which, in modern times, have been made in the several different branches of philosophy, have not, the greater part of them, been made in universities, though some no doubt have. The greater part of universities have not even been very forward to adopt those improvements, after they were made; and several of those learned societies have chosen to remain, for a long time, the sanctuaries in which exploded systems and obsolete prejudices found shelter and protection, after they had been hunted out of every other corner of the world. In general the richest and best universities have been the slowest in adopting those improvements, and the most averse to permit any considerable change in the established plan of education. Those improvements were

more easily introduced into some of the poorer universities, in which the teachers, depending upon their reputation for the greater part of their subsistence, were obliged to pay more attention to the current

opinions of the world.'

'The discipline of colleges and universities is in general contrived, not for the benefit of the students, but for the interest, or, more properly speaking, for the ease of the masters. Its object is, in all cases, to maintain the authority of the master; and whether he neglects or performs his duty, to oblige the students in all cases to behave to him as if he performed it with the greatest diligence and ability. It seems to presume perfect wisdom and virtue in the one order, and the greatest weakness and folly in the other. Where the masters, however, really perform their duty, there are no examples, I believe, that the greater part of the students ever neglect theirs. No discipline is ever requisite to force attendance upon lectures which are really worth the attending, as is well known wherever such lectures are given. Force and restraint may, no doubt, be in some degree requisite (from the parents) in order to oblige the children, or very young boys, to attend to those parts of education which it is thought necessary for them to acquire during that early period of life; but after twelve or thirteen years of age, provided the master does his duty, force or restraint can scarce ever be necessary to carry on any part of education. Such is the generosity of the greater part of young men, that so far from being disposed to neglect or despise the instruction of their master, provided he shews some serious intention of being of use to them, they are generally inclined to pardon a great deal of incorrectness in the performance of his duty, and sometimes even to conceal from the public a good deal of gross negligence.'*

The wisdom of antiquity differs in fact, as well as in phrase, from the wisdom of ages; and it is not always a proof of sagacity to laud the judgment of former generations at the expense of modern attainments. Yet a truly enlightened and philosophic mind will derive lessons of instruction from the experience of bygone times. The inductions which history supplies may be a safer guide than the inventions or presumed discoveries of expediency or empiricism, or the theories of interested partisans. The early apostle of free trade has judiciously discussed this subject and remarks:—

'In the early ages both of the Greek and Roman republics, the other parts of education seem to have consisted in learning to read, write, and account according to the arithmetic of the times. These accomplishments the richest citizens seem frequently to have acquired at home, by the assistance of some domestic pedagogue, who was, generally, either a slave or a freedman; and the poorer citizens, in the schools of such masters as made a trade of teaching for hire. Such parts of education, however, were abandoned altogether to the care of the parents or guardians of each individual. It does not appear that the state ever assumed

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any inspection or direction of them. By a law of Solon, indeed, the children were acquitted from maintaining those parents in old age, who had neglected to instruct them in some profitable trade or business.

'In the progress of refinement, when philosophy and rhetoric came into fashion, the better sort of people used to send their children to the schools of philosophers and rhetoricians, in order to be instructed in these fashionable sciences. But those schools were not supported by the public. They were for a long time barely tolerated by it. The demand for philosophy and rhetoric was for a long time so small, that the first professed teachers of either could not find constant employment in any one city, but were obliged to travel about from place to place. ner lived Zeno of Elea, Protagoras, Gorgias, Hippias, and many others. As the demand increased, the schools both of philosophy and rhetoric became stationary; first in Athens, and afterwards in several other cities. The state, however, seems never to have encouraged them further than by assigning to some of them a particular place to teach in, which was sometimes done too by private donors. The state seems to have assigned the Academy to Plato, the Lyceum to Aristotle, and the Portico to Zeno of Citta, the founder of the Stoics. But Epicurus bequeathed his gardens to his own school. Till about the time of Marcus Antoninus, however, no teacher appears to have had any salary from the public, or to have had any other emoluments but what arose from the honoraries or fees of his scholars. The bounty which that philosophical emperor, as we learn from Lucian, bestowed upon one of the teachers of philosophy, probably lasted no longer than his own life. There was nothing equivalent to the privileges of graduation, and to have attended any of those schools was not necessary, in order to be permitted to practice any particular trade or profession. If the opinion of their own utility could not draw scholars to them, the law neither forced any body to go to them, nor rewarded any body for having gone to them. The teachers had no jurisdiction over their pupils, nor any authority besides that natural authority which superior virtue and abilities never fail to procure from young people towards those who are entrusted with any part of their education.

'In the attention which the ancient philosophers excited, in the empire which they acquired over the opinions and principles of their auditors, in the faculty which they possessed of giving a certain tone and character to the conduct and conversation of those auditors; they appear to have been much superior to any modern teachers. In modern times, the diligence of public teachers is more or less corrupted by the circumstances which render them more or less independent of their success and reputation in their particular profession.

The state of education in some most richly endowed and even celebrated academies, contrasts singularly with the schools which necessity has planted, and the progress which has attended individual effort, or the enterprise of teachers, independent and voluntary. These last were required to minister a supply to those who sought education, because they knew its value and found its adaptation to the circumstances in which

they were placed; and, therefore, they strove to commend themselves and their systems. The testimony of Smith on the 'expense of the institutions for the education of youth' is now as valuable as when he first wrote; and his instructions will, perhaps, be more readily received than those of an inferior teacher; he says:—

'If the authority to which he (the teacher) is subject resides in the body corporate, the college, or university, of which he is himself a member, and in which the greater part of the other members are, like himself, persons who either are, or ought to be teachers; they are likely to make a common cause, to be all very indulgent to one another, and every man to consent that his neighbour may neglect his duty, provided he himself is allowed to neglect his own. In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the public professors have, for these many years, given up

altogether even the pretence of teaching.

'If the authority to which he is subject resides, not so much in the body corporate of which he is a member, as in some other extraneous persons, in the bishop of the diocese, for example; in the governor of the province; [in a County Board;] or, perhaps, in some minister of state; it is not indeed in this case very likely that he will be suffered to neglect his duty altogether. All that such superiors, however, can force him to do, is to attend upon his pupils a certain number of hours, that is, to give a certain number of lectures in the week or in the year. What those lectures shall be, must still depend upon the diligence of the teacher; and that diligence is likely to be proportioned to the motives which he has for exerting it. An extraneous jurisdiction of this kind, besides, is liable to be exercised both ignorantly and capriciously. In its nature it is arbitrary and discretionary, and the persons who exercise it, neither attending upon the lectures of the teacher themselves, nor perhaps understanding the sciences which it is his business to teach, are seldom capable of exercising it with judgment. From the insolence of office, too, they are frequently indifferent how they exercise it, and are very apt to censure or deprive him of his office wantonly, or without any just cause. The person subject to such jurisdiction is necessarily degraded by it, and, instead of being one of the most respectable, is rendered one of the meanest and most contemptible persons in the society. It is by powerful protection only that he can effectually guard himself against the bad usage to which he is at all times exposed; and this protection he is most likely to gain, not by ability or diligence in that profession, but by obsequiousness to the will of his superiors, and by being ready, at all times, to sacrifice to that will the rights, the interest, and the honour of the body corporate of which he is a member. Whoever has attended for any considerable time to the administration of a French university, must have had occasion to remark the effects which naturally result from an arbitrary and extraneous jurisdiction of this kind.'

None saw more clearly than Smith the prejudicial operation of endowed systems of education; and recent investigations

have only confirmed his apprehensions. He enumerates the immunities of such academies, and adds—

Were there no public institutions for education, no system, no science would be taught for which there was not some demand, or which the circumstances of the times did not render it either necessary or convenient, or at least fashionable, to learn. A private teacher could never find his account in teaching either an exploded and antiquated system of science acknowledged to be useful, or a science universally believed to be a mere useless and pedantic heap of sophistry and nonsense. Such systems, such sciences, can subsist nowhere, but in those incorporated societies for education whose prosperity and revenue are in a great measure independent of their reputation, and altogether independent of their industry. Were there no public institutions for education, a gentleman, after going through, with application and abilities, the most complete course of education which the circumstances of the times were supposed to afford, could not come into the world completely ignorant of every thing which is the common subject of conversation among gentlemen and men of the world.

'There are no public institutions for the education of women, and there is accordingly nothing useless, absurd, or fantastical in the common course of their education. They are taught what their parents or guardians judge it necessary or useful for them to learn, and they are taught nothing else. Every part of their education tends evidently to some useful purpose; either to improve the natural attractions of their person, or to form their mind to reserve, to modesty, to chastity, and to economy; to render them both likely to become the mistresses of a family, and to behave properly when they have become such. In every part of her life a woman feels some conveniency or advantage from every part of her education. It seldom happens that a man, in any part of his life, derives any convenience or advantage from some of the most laborious and troublesome parts of his education.'

Well might Sir Nicholas Bacon answer Queen Elizabeth, when his opinion was required concerning some monopoly licenses, 'Licential omnes deteriores sumus.' And strange it is, that many quondam advocates of commercial freedom do not see, or admit, that the profits of the scholastic profession, and the demand in the education market, are as much subject to the principles and laws of political economy, as are corn or cotton; and that the productions of mind, the most ethereal of all mechanisms; that the cultivation of intellect and genius; and the commerce of reason and thought, of knowledge and education, shall as naturally prosper as the trade in bread-stuffs, independent of all adventitious resources and appliances. Moreover, the children of a nation can only be securely and habitually trained to industry and economy, to submission or good order, to sweetness of disposition and tenderness of affection, to amiableness

of manners and offices of kindness, where domestic authority is not usurped by a foreign power, and where the parent has full scope for the exercise of conscientious fidelity, and the full dis-

charge of all his responsibilities.

Mankind have been contending for ages respecting the best form of government; and the successful occupant of place and power is invariably tempted to go beyond the province of the civil magistrate and invade the prerogative of other powers; nor have any been more subject to this temptation than utilitarian statesmen. But we concur with Christopher Anderson in his 'Domestic Constitution,' and believe that 'whatever be the form of political arrangements, let the family constitution once be neglected, then will the blessings of rational freedom and good government, with all the superior blessings of morality and religion, vanish from the land. Nay, it must become but one vast den, and its inhabitants, if not destroyed, would change into animals the most ferocious and terrible on earth.' We should think it a most interesting investigation, and suggest it for the statistician, to take an equal number of those who have been pupils under the independent voluntary teacher, subject to the parent's vigilance and control; and of those who have been educated under chartered or endowed tutors, who have not been responsible to the parents; and compare the We would not confine the comparison between the High School in Edinburgh and Heriot's Hospital; London University College and Christ's Hospital; or the separate boarding schools managed by independent responsibility, and the chartered or charity boarding schools founded by private benevolence or corporation endowments. Though on this subject we might appeal to the Rev. T. Guthrie, and the records of charitable foundations in Edinburgh. But we would challenge inquiry into the operations and effects of voluntary and parochial schools in Scotland; of the hedge school and the charter or board schools of Ireland.

To theorise, and build airy castles, has been the amusement or the weakness of great men. It is more pleasant to erect than to pull down; and the iconoclastes are not so popular with the multitude as the image-makers. To be famous according as one has lifted up axes upon the thick trees, does not secure a philosophical reputation. Ideal fabrics and speculative systems have, therefore, been often reared even by profound and contemplative minds; though thus their weaknesses have been incidentally exposed. And what statesman or philosopher has been free from some defenceless point? Achilles exposed his vulnerable heel; Plato had his 'Republic,' in the arrangements of which he overlooked impossibilities; Augustine wrote 'De

civitate Dei,' and 'Confessions;' the only works of his which Gibbon acknowledges to have known. Sir Thomas More recreated his genius in Utopia; and Lord Bacon had his vision of 'Atlantis;' Harrington elaborated his political economy in 'Oceana;' and Jeremy Bentham constructed a 'panopticon.' From Plato to Bentham, the republic, the Utopia, or the panopticon, were all severally supplied with scholastic theories and schemes of education. We are not surprised, therefore, that the active spirits who have closed a successful war waged with monopoly, and have, while resting on their laurels, found time and desire for activity, should direct their generous minds to some public and, as they hope, beneficial enterprise, and seek to impregnate the mind of youth with the seeds of their doctrine. We only wonder that they should have so soon forgotten their free-trade catechism, and lent their sanction to any measure of monopoly, or given their assent to the principle of a fixed duty in education. We have carefully considered their 'plan for the establishment of a general system of secular education for the county of Lancaster.' Our deliberate conviction is, that it is manifestly sectarian. Its hostile aggressions on the sects, and its special pretensions to a secular character, though evidently enforcing religious distinctions, warrant the assertion, that its tendency is to increase the divisions already existing among the people. And yet with palpable inconsistency, they extol and wish to follow the example of a system which, with the power of law in every district, 'inspires' the 'active members of every sect' to 'watch, denounce, and expel sectarian teaching.' It is but just that the authors of the Plan for Lancashire should be heard for themselves, and we transcribe their introductory observations:—

'For ourselves, we believe there is no safeguard for civil and religious liberty, no security for the rights of property and labour, nothing within the scope of merely human agency which can conduce to the material, the moral, and the religious well being of the people, equal to a universal diffusion of education. Deeply impressed as we are with this belief, it is no less our conviction that the vast benefits of education may be, to a great extent, neutralized, if it be conducted on false or erroneous principles. If, as in countries governed by despotic power, the duty of educating is assumed by the government, the minds of the people may be pressed down into bondage, rather than elevated to freedom. If, as with us, the education of the people is entrusted to the voluntary efforts of certain sections only of the community, that large portion of the people unconnected with any religious denomination is abandoned altogether to chance, or to what is worse than chance, to utter exclusion from all instruction.

'To adopt a course between these two extremes, we hold to be the part of a free and enlightened nation; and to point out the means by

which we conceive such a course may be pursued, is the object we have in view. In thus intimating our belief that voluntary effort is not equal to the necessities of our condition, we must guard against the supposition that we are insensible to the vast amount of good which has been effected by it. The national gratitude is due to those who have so nobly struggled for the emancipation of their fellow men from the bonds

of ignorance.

But, in our gratitude to them, let us not forget the claims of society at large; let us not forget that our gaols are filled with criminals, the ignorance of a large majority of whom is sufficient evidence that the existing educational agencies have not embraced the whole of the population; let us not forget that if we had built school houses instead of gaols, many of our criminals might now have been honest and respectable members of the community. We do not assert that universal education would wholly prevent crime; but we do say that it would be the

means of greatly diminishing it.

'The plan adopted by the government for aiding voluntary effort, is, we conceive, in one essential respect, imperfect, considered apart from the conscientious objections which are felt to it by great numbers of dissenters. The government gives money in proportion to the amount raised by voluntary subscription; and must therefore be granted in an inverse ratio to the necessities of the people. In localities where the congregation is poor, and stands most in need of help, the smallest amount of assistance is afforded. We believe that the only fair and equitable mode of raising and apportioning public money for the purposes of education, is to give to the people themselves, in their various localities, the power of taxing all equally, and of exercising control over the expenditure.

'As all should contribute to the support of public schools, so all should have the right of admission to them. And in order that none may be directly or indirectly debarred from the exercise of this right, nothing should be taught in the schools which would practically exclude any. All catechisms and creeds should, as a measure of simple justice to all, be strictly excluded. None will deny the value of religious instruction; but the most effectual barriers should be provided against the introduction of sectarian teaching. In the words of the honourable Horace Mann, Secretary to the Board of Education, Massachusetts, United States, 'Our aim obviously is to secure as much of religious in-

struction as is compatible with religious freedom.'

'To give the greatest possible efficiency to the public schools, and to protect the rights of every section of the people, a central board for collecting and diffusing information, and with certain other limited powers, should be established, deriving its authority from the people, and responsible.

sible to them for the exercise of it.

'The public schools we propose to establish should not be considered merely as schools for the poor. The education given in a large proportion of the schools established for the middle classes, is of a very inferior character; at the present time, some amongst the very poor receive a better education than those who occupy a position somewhat more elevated in the social scale. By the latter we anticipate that the establish-

ment of a system of education for the whole people will be hailed with satisfaction.

The spirit pervading these statements we can honestly commend; but there is a strange jumble of erroneous conclusions and indiscriminate distinctions. The writers do not discern the things which differ. It is not correct to say, that, 'with us, the education of the people is entrusted to the voluntary efforts of certain sections only.' There is room and freedom for the voluntary efforts of all, whether in sections or individually. It is far from the truth to say, that 'the people unconnected with any religious denomination are abandoned altogether to chance.' Voluntary teachers find the sphere of their efforts precisely in this 'large portion,' and obtain their largest reward from successes among them. And the assertion that they are abandoned to utter 'exclusion from all instruction,' is either highly

figurative or a theoretic mistake.

In England, already, school room is provided for popular instruction enough for 1,876,947; while, by proper calculation, the deficiency only extends to 61,345, which would afford accommodation for the whole school-going youth in the land. In 1843, returns proved that, in the manufacturing districts of Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cheshire, and Derbyshire, for a population of 2,208,771, day-scholars amounted to 210,592. probability is, that on the lowest estimate, already in the county of Lancaster, 170,000 children attend day-schools for instruction; while it has been proved by an official survey of the districts, or deaneries of Macclesfield, Frodsham, Manchester, Warrington, Amounderness, Lonsdale, Blackburn, Leyland, Furness, Copeland, and Kendal, that school accommodation has been furnished for 210,894; and that instruction is accessible to four times the number who embrace it. In four hundred and fifty-four localities, chiefly within the county of Lancaster, only fifty thousand scholars are reported as receiving daily education, where the people have, principally by voluntary enterprise, provided four times the school-room occupied. But hundreds of thousands more seek and obtain instruction by other means; while thousands of generous spirits find their highest pleasure in gratuitously imparting what they value, and wish to bring others equally to appreciate, as a means of happiness.

It is a popular but gratuitous assumption to imply, that the building of school-houses instead of gaols would have secured that many of our criminals might now have been honest and respectable members of the community. In Lancashire, there is already four times the amount of school accommodation provided, to that which is occupied. And it would not be difficult

to show, that the acutest criminals and the leaders in crime have passed through, or might have entered the 'school-houses.' Other crudities in these paragraphs we shall hereafter inciden-

tally expose.

The plan proposes the appointment of 'committees' in every township, who shall be required to establish and support four descriptions of schools; 'for which purpose they shall be empowered to levy rates.' Common day, and evening schools, infant, and industrial schools, are the designations employed to distinguish these 'four descriptions.'

The 'common schools' shall be for children from five to fifteen

years of age,-

'In which they shall be instructed in reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, geography, and such other kinds of useful secular information as may be deemed advisable, or the growing intelligence of the people may demand. In addition to these, a sacred regard to truth; justice, kindness, and forbearance in our intercourse with our fellow-creatures; temperance, frugality, industry, and all other virtues conducive to the right ordering of practical conduct in the affairs of life. And inasmuch as these virtues, together with reverence and love towards the Divine Being, are clearly taught and powerfully enforced in the Scriptures, a selection of examples and precepts inculcating them shall be made therefrom, and read and used in the said schools, but without reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect or denomination.

'For the purpose of making this selection, a commission shall be appointed by the county board, consisting of nine individuals, no two of whom shall be members of the same religious denomination; and in order that the peculiar tenets of no religious sect may be favoured, the unanimous concurrence of the commission shall be required in the selection.

'All children shall have the right of free admission, at the ages before mentioned, to the day, evening, or infant schools of the parish, township, or school union, in which they reside; except such as do not possess the faculties of hearing, speech, or sight, such as are of unsound mind, afflicted with any contagious disorder, or convicted of crime.

'Note.—School committees may, in special cases, relax the rule ex-

cluding children convicted of crime.'

These paragraphs supply an illustration of the spirit and philosophy in which the plan is conceived; and the author of 'Strictures' makes his comments with great point in the follow-

ing paragraphs :-

'I have been forced to the conclusion that it is impracticable and Utopian. It is well meant, but unsound in philosophy. The theory is fallacious, and the working is impossible. One of the essential provisions is that a commission shall be appointed by a county board, to make a selection of 'examples and precepts' from the Scriptures, and that this commission shall consist of 'nine individuals, no two of whom shall be members of the same religious denomination; and in order that the peculiar tenets of no religious sect may be favoured, the unanimous con-

currence of the commission shall be required in the selection.' Nine religious sects—unanimous! Do these men know what sectarian theology is; or have they read the history of creeds, confessions, and formularies, where the commission was composed of one religious sect?

'Their provision and their exclusion are incompatible. What they propose to teach, and what they repudiate and promise to prevent, are either incomprehensible figments, a speculative shadow; or religious tenets. Their secular is religious, and their Catholicon is sectarian. They hold up the word of promise to the ear, and they break it to the

hope.

What is a 'sacred regard for virtues,' more or less than a periphrasis for religion? Can 'reverence and love for the Divine Being' be taught. as they are clearly enforced in the Scriptures, without a reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect? Are there no denominational tenets which respect the Scriptures and the dicta of any secular commission or authority for selection or imposition? The 'examples and precepts' are to be selected from the Scriptures; but in whose name or by whose sanction are they to be taught? apostolic precepts have the same validity as the evangelic or prophetic possess? Will they be enjoined as ethical truths, or Divine injunctions? Will the positive and legal be discriminated as such? Will the evangelical and ecclesiastical supersede the authority of the decalogue? the morality of the Lord's day observance be implied in the fourth commandment; and will reverence to the name of 'God manifest in the flesh' be enforced by the prescriptions in the third? Let the affirmative or the negative be embraced, and will not the commission of nine (however sage) favour the peculiar tenets of some religious sect?

But still further; any teacher, possessing the highest qualifications, and successful above all competitors, being animated by religious considerations, and stimulated by a sacred sense of Divine obligations, shall be discharged from his functions, deprived of his emoluments, and separated from his pupils, if discovered to have 'favoured in his teaching any peculiar theological opinions!!' Here assuredly is the intolerance of secular education, the bigotry and persecution of latitudinarianism. His sect may be the most catholic-his conviction of the exclusively salutary nature of his peculiar opinions the most irresistible—he may believe the youthful pupil, sick and dying, will perish, if he be not taught what he has received as God's truth—he sees the child drawn unto death, and ready to be slain, and he hears one exclaim, 'deliver him, I have found a ransom!'-but no! the secular educationist denounces and man condemns him to dismissal, whom heaven will applaud! Let it be admitted the teacher himself holds the peculiar opinions, and that he practices their concealment, even when their avowal would be most beneficial - will not this involve the habit of hypocrisy, and poison all reciprocal If the peculiar tenets of any sect are to be interdicted, will it not follow that the teacher must be sectarian in his studies? He may otherwise teach unwittingly the peculiar opinions of one of the sects. The influence of such a habit on the teacher's mind, will be demoralizing and sceptical; it will relax moral and conscientious obligations, and quench the generous love and pursuit of truth. Children may be taught

at home; and, with the confidence of youth in their teacher, may suggest inquiries, and interrogate their enslaved instructor, whose answer may be interpreted as favouring some religious sect, or as hostile to the parents' creed taught at home. A portion in the lesson book may lead a papil to inquire, in matters palpable and suited to instruction for such a child. But whether the master can impart a light, or be himself but a novice in such discussions, at the risk of the penalty, perpetual exclusion from his office, he must not reply even so as to favour any religious sect.

But what board shall prove its competency for this index expurgatorius of peculiar tenets? The nine commissioners, severally of a diverse creed, are each to judge what peculiarity favours the opinion of any of his eight colleagues. They must be learned laics; for paid clerical functionaries they cannot be. The Friend must be versed in the whole encyclopædia of theological dogmas; and while he honestly guards his own sect, composed of ten thousand members, from all aggression, he must as faithfully guard the ninety-nine sects, not represented at the board; and exclude what may be Catholic to ten millions of the people. man will be so presumptuous as to undertake the responsibility of such a sectarian commission? But by what standard or theological dictionary shall they determine concerning religious opinions which all may admit are sound and safe, and which yet favour the peculiarities of some religious sect, or the theological opinions pronounced sectarian? Will it be esteemed no presumption for these commissioners to prepare a lesson book, which the members of their several sects shall be bound to accept? The pupils for normal schools must be cautioned; masters for examination must be crammed: examiners themselves must beware, that they do not even seem to know the peculiar tenets of any religious sect; and yet they must be lynx-eyed to detect the most shadowy semblance of peculiar opinions. Hypocrisy, deception, latitudinarianism will have the premium and occupation; but the fervid and honest enthusiast in religion, who teaches, most succeeds in teaching, secular knowledge; whose assiduity is provoked by conscientious scrupulousness, that he may discharge religious duties, and commend his religion by his fidelity, and who cannot, therefore, conceal his opinions; who would endure privation and toil that he may at fitting times diffuse his devoutly cherished opinions, which, of necessity, must favour the peculiar tenets of some sect, will be punished, and doomed to ignominy and disappointment.' *

The projectors of this secular education are well-meaning friends of liberalism; we would therefore warn them against the divisions any attempt to establish their scheme will produce in the ranks of reformers. They have set up the standard of a new sect, and increased the number of political 'shibboleths.' Champions will now be ranged to prove or disprove the plan unexceptionable, and its pretensions to catholicity. The earnest and sensitively-conscientious men will dread its infringement on principles and obligations held sacred; till in the controversy

^{* &#}x27;Strictures,' on a Plan, &c. Republished from the Manchester Times.' Letters by Phileleutheros.

they are reckoned censorious and pragmatical. The speculative and lax admirers of the theory, who have marshalled themselves as promoters of education, under the auspicious sanctions of philanthropy, will scorn the crotchet, and be tempted to disdain as narrow-minded bigotry and opinionated obstinacy, the oppo-

sition which they encounter.

It would require a volume to select and refute every error or political heresy in this plan. But we must condense our objections. A certain class of reformers fortify their projects by referring to the experience of America, and the educational statistics of that country are produced, if not paraded, in argument for national education. We frankly admit, they find there much plausible precedent. First, however, before they deem that conclusive, they should remember, the system which they laud in America was coeval with the colonization of that continent: and though, perhaps, adapted to a newly-settled and plebeian population, with few sects and no hierarchical domination; its late introduction would excite antagonism in an old country, whose inhabitants were long settled, with many hereditary prejudices and predilections. Then, let them consider that the Americans are themselves departing from the scholastic provisions of their localization, in proportion as disparity prevails between the capitalist and the working man; as privileged classes multiply, aristocracy encroaches, and the habits of Americans approach to the manners of old English society.

Before we proceed to further criticism, we shall add a few extracts from 'the Plan,' as to the county government of this tentative measure of secular education. They confine it to the county of Lancaster, because the contrivers 'believe it will meet with a warmer support from some, and a less decided opposition from others, than if it had been proposed for the country at large; and because they believe, that in this county are to be found men pre-eminently qualified to carry out such an experiment with spirit and success.' How credulous! For administration, it is proposed there shall be committees for the townships and for the hundred; and for the county, a board of education. We copy the limitations and extent assigned to their several powers in progressive degrees of authority. Such is the plan; what will be its working at the end of twenty years?

1st. Powers and Duties of the School Committee.

'The school committee shall have power to engage and dismiss masters and teachers, and to decide on all matters relating to the management of the schools; subject to the following regulations:—

'1st. Nothing shall be taught in any of the schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect; and in order that perfect security

may be afforded, any ratepayer shall have the right to complain to the school committee of the conduct of any teacher in this respect; and in case of dissatisfaction with the decision of the school committee, he shall have the right to appeal to the committee of the hundred; and, if dissatisfied with their decision, to the county board of education, and from the decision of the county board to the courts of law and equity.

'2. No clergyman of the church of England, nor any dissenting minister, nor any ecclesiastic of the catholic church, shall be capable of

holding any salaried office in connexion with the schools.

2nd. Powers and Duties of the Committees of the Hundred.

'1. To unite parishes or townships containing less than two thousand inhabitants into school unions, which unions shall act in every respect as

if they were parishes or townships of themselves.

'2. If the majority of the rate-payers of any parish or township present at a public meeting, called for the purpose, object to be united with any other parish or township, they shall have the right of appeal from the decision of the committee of the hundred, to the county board.

'3. If any parish, township, or school union neglect to establish or support schools, the committee of the hundred shall levy rates for the purpose, and appoint a school committee for such parish, township, or

union.

'4. To admonish or dismiss teachers whose conduct is brought under their notice by appeal from the decision of the school committees.'

' County Board of Education.

'A county board of education shall be established, consisting of twelve persons, of whom not more than three shall be members of any one reli-

gious denomination.

'1. The board shall appoint annually a secretary, at a salary of not less than five hundred nor more than eight hundred pounds per annum; and two inspectors at salaries of at least two hundred pounds each, per annum. The concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary

in the appointment of the secretary and inspectors.

- '2. It shall be necessary for the board to sanction all books before they are admitted into any of the schools; and no book shall receive the sanction of the board which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect. Objections made in writing by any three members of the board, to any book, on the ground that it favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect, shall prevent such book from being introduced into any of the schools. *
- '5. If any township, parish, or school-union, shall neglect to establish and support schools, and if the committee of the hundred in which such parish, township, or school-union is situated, shall neglect to use the power given them to supply the deficiency, it shall be the duty of the county board to establish schools, to levy rates on such parish, township, or school-union, for their establishment and support, and to appoint a committee to manage them.

'9. As an incitement to diligence and good conduct on the part of the pupils in the local schools, the county board shall have power to expend two thousand pounds annually in maintaining at the normal school a

number of such pupils as shall be reported by the school committees to be deserving of such reward, and shall pass through such a course of examination by the public examiners as shall be decided on by the county board.

'10. The expenses incurred by the board shall be defrayed by the parishes, townships, and unions, in proportion to their population.

' Normal Schools.

'1. The county board shall establish and support one or more normal schools for the training of teachers. It shall have power to engage and dismiss teachers, to decide on the course of instruction to be pursued, and on all matters relating to the management of the normal schools.

2. Nothing shall be taught in the normal schools which favours the

peculiar tenets of any religious sect.

'3 The county board shall have power to draw from the townships, parishes, and school-unions, in proportion to their population, the sums necessary for the erection of buildings for the normal schools. The current expenses shall be defrayed by the pupils, or by the townships, parishes, or school-unions, for whom the pupils are in training.'

The Earl of Clarendon, as well as Lord John Russell, have severally applied to Ireland the counsels of a wise policy, whether from choice or of necessity. By not a few their sentiments have been applied and not alone for Ireland are they susceptible of application. Legislative intervention in the affairs of individuals has put a check, elsewhere than among the Irish, on enterprise; destroyed self-reliance, and misdirected capital and industry; illustrating that the less a government interferes beyond the removal of obstructions and securing of perfect freedom, the better for the community. Neither laws nor the actions of the executive government are indispensible for the regeneration of a nation.

When a scarcity of provision prevailed recently, many benevolent individuals urged that the government should send their 'men of war' to foreign ports, not as plunderers but traders; and that the public servants should act as a great national commis-The ministry declined such interference with the regular merchant; and on this account an outcry was ignorantly raised against them for cruelty, and as having caused the death of myriads, especially in Ireland. Sober-minded and observant philosophers, or judicious merchants, have not, however, thus judged. They knew that, had government gone into the market, either as buyers or carriers, they would have not only disorganised legitimate trade and interrupted the bona fide enterprise of the skilled merchant; but would have obstructed the supplies which a natural trade was sure to provide. Had benevolent companies or incorporated trades interposed, the same evils on a smaller scale would have followed. If this would be the natural

tendency of interference by the executive, in measures to secure an adequate supply of bread-stuffs, and other commodities, what other operation could result from their intermeddling with individual enterprise in relation to popular education? How will it affect the balance between the demand and the supply; disturb the relations of the voluntary teacher, and misdirect the expectations and confidence of the market? Let a private teacher attempt to come into competition with such accredited and endowed agents of an incorporate system, according to the plan; and he will find himself in the same state with a merchant who ventures to trade without a bounty in competition with those whose traffic is encouraged by large public bounties. 'If he sells his goods at nearly the same price, he cannot have the same profit; and poverty and beggary, at least, if not bankruptcy and ruin, will infallibly be his lot. If he attempts to sell them much dearer, he is likely to have so few customers that his circumstances will not be much mended.'

It may be answered, 'the appetite for education is not so natural to the ignorant as for meat and drink. Free trade in bread and water will succeed, but not in knowledge.' Dr. Chalmers urged this consideration in favour of an argument for an established religion; and voluntaries answered him by appealing to the principles divinely appointed, as sufficient to procure all needful provision. Had Dr. Chalmers been able to secure heavenly intelligences as the 'powers' of earth, and angels as the ministerial agencies of the church, who should, free from the taints of corruption or the influence of selfishness, have administered ecclesiastical affairs; then, in part at least, his proposition would have been plausible. But it would have been to deprive the gospel of much of its glory. The recipients would not have sustained the responsibility and dignity of freemen, and of a voluntary people doing God's service willingly.

If, then, men, naturally disinclined to provide for themselves spiritual food, are left dependant on voluntaryism, and its sufficiency be realized, are they not far more likely to supply themselves with education? If governors cannot be trusted to provide religion because their provision will be made for sinister purposes; can it be expected that the officials of even a local and secular corporation will wisely arrange for what is counted a common education for the mass of the people, without invidiousness or prejudicial influence, as for all the subjects in the realm?

The injustice involved in the application of the proposed system, under the sanctions of parliament, with the powers of an incorporate society, and supported by taxation on the entire community, must be manifest to such as calmly examine the subject. Surely, if a salary be given to the teacher of one scheme

of education, because it is peculiar, the system which is not endowed is taxed to an equivalent amount—besides being branded with public disapproval. The premium bestowed on the favoured plan is a new money power, appropriated to the advantage of a section; and for the emolument of those functionaries who are conformists to the creed embraced in the chartered system. The bestowment of such recompense on the corporate teacher will necessarily deserve the character of a penalty in its operation upon the independent teacher, and will prove injurious to his

efforts, whatever be his energies or success.

Where taxation is universal, the benefit, whether direct or remote, should be common. But in the plan proposed it is otherwise. The salaried agency is sectarian; and necessarily the more so by the vain attempts at catholicity; while public opprobrium is created and cast upon the conscientious teachers whose scruples prevent their acceptance of chartered privileges. Moreover, if a revenue be exacted from all, being members of the community, the complaint of inequality is well founded if the benefits do not extend to all. But the operation of the measure, sketched in the plan of these friends of education, will be limited, and the advantages will accrue only to such individuals as either have not exercised conscience, or whose mind has not suffered from doubts or questions of principle as a cause of disquietude. It is thus that an instrumentality, which should be for the elevation of the people, and the advancement of benevolent and generous sympathies between man and man, will rather divide and destroy the mutual confidence and cooperation of society.

Under the pretext of education the fiction of liberality has been sustained by rulers and clergy; with the semblance of philanthropy and a lugubrious charity and compassion for the criminal population, ignorance has been denounced as the cause of guilt; and a morbid pity has been nursed into sympathy for the inhabitants of our jails, penitentiaries, penal settlements, and floating prisons. 'Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise;' and where crime is palliated or sheltered under the disguises of untutored or unlettered years, is it not probable that the knowing culprits will not acknowledge aggravating acquirements? But it is not an extravagant conjecture, that excuses are manufactured as well for government measures, which are exceptionable and dangerous to liberty, as for the immoralities of our criminal population, by the cant educational and the zeal for continental innovations which have recently prevailed. There is a crisis now in English history like to the struggle which convulsed the country in the time of Charles 1. Then it was precipitated by royalty, now it is impelled by utilitarian and doctrinaire politicians. Then the contest raged around the throne, now it agitates the homestead and the hearth of the citizen. Then it was with the tramp of the warrior and the garment rolled in blood; but now it is with the strife of tongues and the conflict of opinion. But still the 'old English liberty' will prevail; and it will be found that the palladium of British freedom is committed to every Englishman: to be guarded by his vigilance, and secured by his own respon-

sibility and constant energies.

The eager advocate of the plan under review, will probably demur to these strictures, as if misapplied. It is certainly not our intention to misrepresent. The powers of government to be vested in committees, and the board, are proposed, by the plan, to be incorporate:—and this is one of the most important provisions relating to these bodies.' And how extensive are to be these corporate powers? 'To enter the public schools at all times, to examine into the progress made by the scholars; into the course of instruction pursued; and into all matters relating to the management of the schools;' 'to admonish or dismiss;' and 'to prevent such book from being introduced;' 'to sanction all books before they are admitted;' to judge what book 'favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect;' to appoint 'secretary and inspectors.' Will all these be done without any pecuniary influence? And yet the projectors please themselves, or assure their friends, that this board is invested with no more power than is necessary for enforcing the law, and securing the efficiency of the local schools.' If the operations of a body so incorporated partake not of the genius of government influence, what will be their utility; and if they be equal to government—what mighty charm will the annual retirement of two members of the board work? Men 'dressed in a little brief authority' are proverbial for the 'fantastic tricks' which they play before high heaven; but what evils may these sexennial boardmen perpetrate during their period of office? What testimony does the most philosophical economist bear concerning the action and influence of corporate bodies?

'A monopoly granted to a trading company has the same effect as a secret in trade or manufactures. The price of monopoly is on every occasion the highest which can be got. The exclusive privileges of corporations, statutes of apprenticeship, and all those laws which restrain, in particular employments, the competition to a smaller number than otherwise might go into them, have the same tendency. The real and effectual discipline which is exercised over a workman is not that of his corporation, but that of his customers. It is the fear of losing their employment which restrains his frauds and corrects his

negligence. An exclusive corporation necessarily weakens the force of this discipline. If you would have your work tolerably executed it must be done in the suburbs, where the workmen, having no exclusive privilege, have nothing but their character to depend on.' Virtually all these characteristics will belong to the corporate action of the board contemplated in this plan. We would invite the advocates of such a measure, and any who think that the experiment at least is possible, to remember the operations of the board for charter schools in Ireland; and examine what are the tendencies of the government chartered Board of Education; intended, vainly, as a substitute for all other Irish systems, and to neutralize antagonistic sectarianism.

The politician seeks how to encourage the principle of good government, and to secure an efficient administration without diminishing the independence of the subject, or adding to the irresponsibility of the ruling class. But this plan authorises legislative intervention in the most domestic affairs of private The clothing or food of the body are not so much the province of the parent, as is the furnishing or culture of the mind; an incorporate board, for analysing the food or measuring the garments of the youth of the county, would not be a more impertinent intermeddling, or more likely to check the sympathies of the community. The administration would have the despotism and energy of a dictator, which should provide and controll the educational apparatus for five hundred townships in a county; but it would debase the parent citizen to the dependence of an infant minor, and dissolve some of the gravest obligations which are sustained under the paternal roof.

The economist demands that the best article be produced at the cheapest price; whereas in corporate operations the plan is practically how to expend, for the benefit of interested parties, the largest amount having the smallest return. 'It is the interest of every man to live as much at his ease as he can; and if his emoluments are to be precisely the same, whether he does or does not perform some very laborious duty, it is certainly his interest, at least as interest is vulgarly understood, either to neglect it altogether, or if he is subject to some authority which will not suffer him to do this, to perform it in as careless and slovenly a manner as that authority will permit. If he is naturally active, and a lover of labour, it is his interest to employ that activity in any way from which he can derive some advantage, rather than in the performance of his duty,' whose remuneration is already fixed. The practical working of 'township' schools, as proposed in the plan, will develope this absence of stimulus. The functionaries, having the inspection

and controul, will not hold the relation which will excite a healthy vigilance, or secure in the servant a constant and direct responsibility. Public servants are sustained at the largest cost, and always are subject to the least responsibility. Their assumptions and hauteur are only paralleled by their presumed independence.

But the monopoly conferred on the corporation teaching, is at the expense of the people who are professedly the objects of benevolent consideration; while, under the pretext of favour, an injury is inflicted. The nation is taxed, and not only denied an equivalent, but the revenue of the tax is appropriated to the

antagonist of their best friend.

Every system of taxation, moreover, ultimately bears on the profits of production; and the largest share, in proportion to the means of the individual and the contributions of the multitude, is extracted from the labouring classes. The people are already too heavily burdened in national taxation; and the collection of revenue by a government functionary is expensive and demoralizing. The tax-gatherer is an unpopular officer, that which is given to him is given with reluctance, and generates discontent. Swift said truly, that in the arithmetic of the customs, two and two, instead of making four, make sometimes only one; if, then, it shall require a great number of officers to levy the education tax, whose salaries may consume a great part of the revenue, the benefits will be disparaged, and the hearts of the people alienated from the object desired. And, although the expense of government to the individuals of a great nation has been compared to 'the expense of management to the joint tenants of a great estate, who are all obliged to pay in proportion to their respective interests in the estate; multitudes will doubt whether they have an interest in a chartered scheme of education; which requires so many accessories for its support, beyond what a voluntary system secures. They will doubt whether it be 'in proportion to their respective abilities, as nearly as possible,' they are forced to contribute towards the support of this untried and impracticable plan; more especially when they compare what is the proportion of revenue or interest they receive under the protection of the state. What will be the expenditure of the plan to which the projectors call the attention of all classes?

The increase contemplated in this plan to the official staff of the county and of the administrative power of civil functionaries, is not undeserving of consideration. How many will it clothe, not only 'with a little brief authority;' and how widely ramified will be the pervading influence of placemen, if even they be not pensioners? It may be doubted, indeed, whether any executive administration of the crown will consent to the creation of such imperium in imperio, or to leave its control in other hands than their own; while the natural sympathies of all corporations are subject to the supreme influences of the ruler. Shall these functionaries be required to perform their duties merely because chosen by the rate-payers, without fee or salary? If not remunerated;—then what is the testimony of all historical experience with reference to the 'great unpaid' magistracy? But if every one who does public service should be rewarded suitably, both that his attendance may be obligatory. and that he may be held responsible for his duties, let the apparatus of this PLAN be considered. In the county of Lancaster there are four hundred and sixty-four townships. committee, and one or more schools are contemplated for each; having at command offices, secretaries, clerks, stationery, etc., needful for the routine of periodical or extraordinary business. Consultations, returns, reports from them, directions, regulations, inspection and the government of them will be a needful part, and development of the system. The number of each township's committee is not specified; take, then, an average number of five, and one secretary, besides schoolmasters for each :-

Secretaries for each, one Six county divisions of hundreds, for which are provided, by the plan, committees, number. Secretaries for each, one One county board and secretary One commission of nine and secretary One general treasurer and six deputy treasurers Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four. Normal school tutors or professors	320
Six county divisions of hundreds, for which are provided, by the plan, committees, number Secretaries for each, one	164
plan, committees, number	
One county board and secretary One commission of nine and secretary One general treasurer and six deputy treasurers Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four Normal school tutors or professors	60
One county board and secretary One commission of nine and secretary One general treasurer and six deputy treasurers Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four Normal school tutors or professors	6
One commission of nine and secretary One general treasurer and six deputy treasurers Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four Normal school tutors or professors	13
One general treasurer and six deputy treasurers Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four Normal school tutors or professors	10
Examiners, say three, and inspectors, say four Normal school tutors or professors	7
Normal school tutors or professors	7
	6
Teachers of the township schools, at least	464
tractors, or servants, to keep the buildings in repair, say	3
Number of functionaries ascertained	357

The salaries or expenses of these public servants are not anticipated in the plan, with two exceptions—the secretary to the board, and two inspectors;—for the former, not less than five hundred, nor more than eight hundred pounds per annum is proposed. The minimum salary of the inspectors also is specified. That these conjectures are not absurd or extravagant

representations, will be apparent from a note which is appended by the projectors of the scheme, at page 11 of the Plan, and which, as the basis of our calculations, we transcribe:—

'The population of Lancashire in 1841 was 1,666,054, but may at present be considered as 2,000,000. The net rental assessed for the poor-rates in the county of Lancaster for the year ending Lady-day, 1841, was £5,266,606—at present it may be taken as £6,000,000. The erection of a school-house in every township (four hundred and sixty-four in number) at an expense of £250 each, would cost altogether £116,000. A rate of fourpence three farthings in the pound would raise a sum of £118,750.'

The modesty of these hypothetical buildings, which are to be provided for school-rooms in every township, hardly corresponds with the matter-of-fact structures usually appropriated for such purposes, by corporate or government provision. The expense of £250 each, would but too probably prove an under estimate,

besides the cost of keeping them in repair.

This summary may help to some conclusions on the financial character of the PLAN; all the revenue for which is to be levied by taxation, and which, minus the teachers' salaries, is to be an additional burden upon the tax-paying people. Moreover, it should be remembered, that the projectors mean Lancashire should be a model county for all others; while the adventitious expenditure may be calculated for a thickly-peopled district, much lower than for districts where the population is more scattered; and the system in all its operations would remain much more under check in the county of Lancaster, than in the

counties of Dukes, Clergy, and Squires.

We have listened to the earnest appeal of the authors of this scheme. We have sought to avoid 'the bitterness of controversy, and to approach the consideration of this momentous question in a spirit of conciliation, benevolence, and justice.' And we must frankly avow that, we think, like the author of 'The Republic,' they have pursued the idea of good, without sufficient consideration for the evil influences of society. Not only have they contrived an impracticable and illusive theory, which will lead to futile organisation, but they are working into the hands of designing men, who are insidiously fabricating a great national network, in which to entangle and enthral the mind of our youthful population. This county plan will not succeed; but it may serve as an admirable pretext for the further modification of Dr. Kay Shuttleworth's plastic and chameleon minutes.'

Events prove that the public mind is not only agitated with this question; but so awakened to investigation and discussion are the thoughtful men, that no temporary expedient or supplementary 'minute' will suffice. A few needy or temporising associations, and some timid, half-hearted, and wavering nonconformists may have been tempted into correspondence, respecting government grants or chartered revenues for education. But there are others, the hope of the country—the earnest men. on whose leading the movement of the age depends; the truly enlightened advocates of liberty and nonconformity, who have a mission to perform; and they will not be found wanting in the emergency. The deliberations which have been held in the metropolis to concert a plan of co-operation for voluntary education, and to occupy the place and position, now deserted by the Borough Road School, intimate how deeply and painfully affected have been the minds of many who were its benefactors, by the procedure of the British and Foreign School Society. We may have more to say of the scheme for a voluntary association, which these gentlemen have projected. Meanwhile, we assure them of much sympathy and interest in their discussions.

The Congregational Union Board of Education has not been deceived by the supplementary minute of the Committee of Privy Theirs were not the exceedingly 'refined objections' which could be salved over by Dr. Kay Shuttleworth's prescrip-They have seen through the gloss of that plausible and only pretended concession; and have not been allured by its flattering conciliation. They never would have refused to account for the appropriation of monies received, or to report, in the fullest terms, the amount and character of religious education imparted by them. They would do nothing in a corner; they would sanction no irresponsibility in the application of national resources; but neither would they hypocritically and deceitfully accept public money for one purpose, and apply it to another. They would not even pretend to give secular education only, when they covertly were imparting instruction in sacred things. They believe that religious truth is taught in their day schools, either separately or by the influence of their general teaching; and they would not be under the law of man in this matter; they would not receive a code of education from any secular authority, or by any minute of council. They have spoken out at their autumnal meeting, in the city of York, during the month of October. We hope Dr. Vaughan, as well as Dr. Shuttleworth—the advocates of secular and endowed education—as well as the government, will deeply ponder the following resolutions, which, after long and deliberate discussion, were passed, nemine contradicente, by more than three hundred ministers and delegates, from all parts of England and Wales.

1. 'It is their conviction, that the education imparted to the young in day-schools, by the various congregations connected with this body, ought to combine religious with secular instruction; and such, in their belief, is the invariable practice. In accordance with their known ecclesiastical principles, the religious character of these schools determines the source from which alone support to them must be derived, and neces-

sarily excludes all aid from the government.

2. 'This union having, on former occasions, expressed their deliberate views, founded on these principles, on the various measures of the government in relation to education, see nothing in this supplementary minute to induce the slightest modification in their opposition to these measures; since their objections do not lie against affording information, however ample and explicit, to the government, and to the public at large, respecting the character and extent of the religious instruction communicated, but against the reception of public money for institutions of a religious character, such as this supplementary minute acknowledges them, by implication, to be, just as the former minute recognised them in express terms.

3. 'This supplementary minute is, in their conviction, of most mischievous tendency, inasmuch as it is calculated to ensure the judgment, by diverting it from the proper question involved in these measures, yet leaving all their objections untouched; while concurrence in it, on the part of dissenters, would naturally produce the impression on the public mind, that they only sought a decent pretext for availing themselves of

the government money.

'On these grounds, this meeting would express their hope, that this new minute will meet with universal rejection by all who hold the principle of the unlawfulness of government interference with religion.'

The more this important subject is discussed, the more evident will become the momentous interests involved. Thus has it appeared to the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The members felt they had duties to discharge, which affect a far wider circle than their own subscribers, or the direct contributors to their funds. They contemplate the deliberations and conclusions to which they may come, as belonging to the entire community, rather than any separate section of the people; and therefore their anxiety is most reasonable, to take counsel and ascertain the opinion of the friends of education in distant places. They will confer benefits, even by extending the inquiries and awakening the thoughtfulness of the pastors and teachers in all parts of the country; as well as by maturing their own plans of operation.

We hail with great pleasure the arrangement by which a conference is to be convened of the friends of education, in some central place, convenient for attendance from provincial towns as well as from the metropolis. It is wisely determined that this assembly shall be congregated prior to the meeting of parlia-

ment; so that, before politicians or senators commit themselves to the plausibilities either of government measures, or of theories put forth by associations, they may have the advantage of such conference and of its deliberations. Whoever may take part in that proceeding, will doubtless remember that the eyes of the empire are anxiously directed toward them. The friends of freedom, in our colonies and in the United Kingdom, more than the warring factions of religious polemics, or the subtle employes of jealous statesmen, will turn their hopes and attention to this council of the people. It is no partial or sectarian interest, no mere denominational or partisan struggle. The welfare of the nation, the progress of liberal institutions, the elastic power of the voluntary principle, and the self-diffusive energy of independent education, await the crisis and the demonstration.

ART. VII.—First, Second, Third, Fourth, and Fifth Reports from the Select Committee on Navigation Laws, together with the Minutes of Evidence taken before them. Printed by order of the House of Commons.

The first trace of a navigation law to be found in the statutes—and it is useless to look further back at the usages of the Danes and Saxons—is the 5th of Richard II., cap. 3. That is the germ of a system since carried by our shipping over a world that Richard and his barons never dreamed of, and existing at the end of nearly five centuries, is now causing inquiries in Parliament, and serving as the rallying cry of parties. As lawmakers always follow precedents, subsequent legislation was but the development and growth of that germ. From its nature, though we cannot, a priori, infer the oak from the acorn, we may learn the applicability of our maritime system to the present and the future of society, and therefore we begin with the first little filament of its life.

The avowed object of the Act was to 'prohibit any subject of the king from shipping any merchandise outward or homeward, except in ships of the king's allegiance, on penalty of forfeiture of vessel and cargo.'* The motive assigned for the prohibition 'was to augment the navy of England,' said to be then 'greatly

^{*} Macpherson, 'Annals of Commerce,' vol. i. p. 592.

reduced.' Thus the beginning of the law was the prohibition of any honest traffic, unless it were carried on in ships of which the owners, master and crew, owed allegiance to the king. At that period the effects of the Conquest had not passed away, and the allegiance claimed was one of its results. 'The statute 2 of Richard II., cap. 4, speaks of mariners being arrested and retained for the king's service, as of a thing well known, and practised without dispute, and provides a remedy against their running away.'* Thus the allegiance was the duty of submitting to any violent outrage the king and his barons might ordain, to serve their own purposes. A somewhat remarkable illustration may be found in the records of the same king's reign, which is worthy of being quoted, to show the condition of those who were constrained to serve the king at sea, and

whose honest traffic he prohibited.

In the 5th year of the reign of Richard II., he summoned a parliament 'especially to punish,' as the Commons were told by Sir Hugh Segrave, Treasurer of England, 'the authors of the late horrible tumults and rebellions made against the king, who had been forced to grant to the rebels charters of liberty and manumission, who were only bond-tenants and villains of the realm of England, under the great seal of England, which the king, knowing to be done against law, desired them to seek remedy, and provide for the confirmation or revocation thereof.' 'The Lords and Commons together came unanimously to this resolution, 'That all grants of liberties and manumission to the said villains and bond-tenants obtained by force, were in disherison of them, the Lords and Commons, and destruction of the realm, and therefore to be nulled and made void, by authority of this parliament.'+ When the first Navigation Act was passed, therefore, the bulk of the people were still in a condition of vil-

* 'Blackstone's Commentaries,' book i., chapter 13.

[†] Parliamentary History of England, vol. i. 387. Such a remarkable example as that recorded in the text of bad faith in the nobility to the villains, must not be allowed to pass, without supplying its appropriate lesson. The villains under Wat Tyler had extorted from the crown charters of freedom and manumission, confirmed under the great seal. Relying on the sovereign, they had dispersed and returned to their homes; and then the parliament, repudiating the contract made with the king, annulled the grants as disinheriting them—that is, putting an end to their power over slaves. Wat Tyler, let us add, and his followers, then contended for free trade. One of their demands first granted and afterwards 'nulled and declared void' was 'freedom of buying and selling in the towns and out of the towns'; but that freedom, like the other charters, was withheld by the lords of markets, fairs, tolls, and bridges. It is quite possible, and even probable, that the conduct mentioned in the text influences the sentiments and affections of the descendants of Wat Tyler and his associates to this day. They have, unfortunately, been continu-

lanage, their persons and property were held at the mercy of their feudal superiors, and the prohibition to traffic was intended to make the services of the villains more readily avail-

able to those who claimed their allegiance.

It is apparent, from this brief account of the conduct of the people and their rulers, that they were in conflict; the people were struggling for freedom, including freedom of trade; and the barons, to maintain their power. By that conflict all the laws of that age were tainted. The villains, including the mariners, strove for enfranchisement, and the barons, by violence, to retain them in obedience. There was no conception then in existence of the importance of trade as a branch of civilization. The warrior monarch, as the rule, only required ships to carry his armies to the continent, and as the means of having them. he ordained that none but those on which he could legally seize, of which the masters, owners, and mariners, were of the king's allegiance, or owed him suit and service, should engage in the trade of his dominions. He prescribed the business of ships, as he seized seamen; and the first navigation law had a precisely similar origin to impressment. The present charter of the ship owners was originally intended to secure by force a supply of ships and seamen for the king's service. Manning the fleet, and restrictions on trade by a navigation law, have, ever since, gone hand in hand; * and to this day the latter is defended as a means of providing seamen for the navy, owing allegiance to the monarch, on whom the State can seize, whenever it may require, or suppose it requires their services.

Several other early acts of parliament on the subject partake of the same character. By the 14th Richard II., cap. 6, it was enacted, that the merchants of England should export their mer-

ally reminded to our own time, by some similar promises similarly broken, of the little faith to be placed in rulers. Future historians will probably speak of the parliamentary reform effected by the Whigs, to the utter disfranchisement of the bulk of those who contributed to bring it about, as another example of charters of liberty and manumission promised under the great seal, as held by Lord Brougham, and nulled and made void as befits mean modern statesmanship, covertly and with cozenage, by the authority of the Whig ministry and the parliaments of 1830, 1831. Such treacherous proceedings continued at intervals through centuries, are not without their influence on the character of the people, and are the parents of that mistrust of politicians which is now both just and general. Perchance the down-stricken peasantry of the south of England, whose deterioration is now so much mourned over by philanthropic politicians, owe their degradation to such deceit and treachery in the possessors of power as is recorded in the text. Before we censure too severely the habits of any labouring classes, we ought to ascertain from a minute examination of domestic history what has been the conduct of their rulers.

• See the evidence of Captain Sir J. Stirling.

chandise in English vessels only.' The act Henry VII., 1 cap. 2, in like manner forbids 'the buying or selling of any wine, the growth of Guienne or Gascoigne, unless it were imported in a vessel belonging to England, or of the king's allegiance, and navigated principally by natives of England, or those who were the king's bondmen.' The assigned motive for this law was the decay of the navy, from the seamen being unemployed. By the 4th Henry VII., cap. 8, 'wine, wood, etc., were prohibited to be imported unless in vessels belonging to the king, or some of his subjects,' and navigated by seamen, of whom the greatest part should be natives of his territories. The king's subjects were also forbidden from shipping goods in England or Wales on board any vessel owned by a foreigner, unless when sufficient freight could not be found in an English vessel.* In passing the law the parliament considered 'that were great minishing and decay hath been now of late tyme of the navy of this realme of Englande, and ydilnes of the maryners of the same by the whiche this noble realme within short process of tyme, without reformation be had therein, shall not be of abylytye ne of strengthe and power to defend itself.' The intention of the legislature in all these acts was rather to provide means at the command of a feudal monarch for carrying on war, than increase the wealth of the people, promote their convenience, or add to the employment and profit of the shipowner.

Passing over several similar acts, intended to modify the earlier laws (for, like all such laws, they required to be continually altered), we come to the Acts of the Commonwealth, passed at a period peculiarly propitious to a rapid growth of commerce and shipping; and, considered therefore, while the others have been disowned, to be the true parents of our maritime superiority. By the first of these, the Act of 1650 'intended,' as Blackstone says, 'to mortify our own sugar islands which were disaffected to the Parliament, and still held out for Charles 11., by stopping the gainful trade which they then carried on with the Dutch, and at the same time to clip the wings of those our opulent and aspiring neighbours.' 'All ships of foreign nations were prohibited from trading with any English plantation, without licence from In 1651, the prohibition was extended the council of state.' also to the mother country, and no goods were suffered to be imported into England, or any of its dependencies, in any other than English bottoms, or in the ships of that European nation of which the merchandize imported was the genuine growth or manufacture. At the Restoration, the same provisions were

^{* &#}x27;Annals of Commerce,' vol. i., p. 602.

[†] Ibid, p. 706.

[‡] Ibid., p. 712.

continued by statute 12 Carl. 11, c. 18, with this very material improvement, that 'the master and three-fourths of the mariners shall also be English subjects.' * In all these enactments, the parliament copied, with modifications and extensions, the letter and spirit of the Acts of Richard and Henry, substituting for 'ships of,' 'the king's allegiance,' and 'king's liege people,' 'ships of the build of England, Ireland, and the plantations,' and the more modern phrase of 'English subjects.' Subsequently, these Acts were variously modified to a small extent, and in trivial matters—whale ships, for example, were allowed to have their crews only one-third English; Persian silk, an Asiatic product, was allowed to be imported by the Russian company through Russia, but, in the main, the Act of 12 Carl. 11. c. 18, continued in force till after the separation of the United States from England, and constituted with its adjuncts that great maritime code which is supposed to have insured the safety and the supremacy of England. Professing to confine all the over-sea and coasting trade to ships built in England. owned by Englishmen, and manned by English seamen, and to secure them a monopoly of this trade to the exclusion of foreigners. and particularly of the Dutch, the law has been at all times peculiarly acceptable to ship-builders, ship-owners, and mariners, who have credulously believed that the effects of legislation were always identical with the intentions of the legislator.

The principle provisions of this Act were as follows: no goods or commodities whatever, were allowed to be imported into, or exported from, any of our plantations or colonies, except in English or colonial ships manned by Englishmen. but natural born or naturalized subjects were allowed to exercise the occupation of merchant or factor in the colonies, under forfeiture of goods and chattels. No goods, -the growth, product, or manufacture of Asia, Africa, or America, could be imported into England, except in English ships. No goods of foreign growth or production could be imported in foreign vessels, except from the place of growth, under forfeiture of ships and goods. Salted fish, oil, etc., not caught or cured, or imported in vessels truly English, were liable to double aliens' customs. No goods could be carried coast-wise, except in English ships. No goods of the growth of Russia, no masts, timber, boards, and a great variety of bulky articles, could be imported in foreign ships, except ships of the build of the country where the articles were grown or produced, owned and manned, like British ships, by natives of that country. The Act further prohibited the shipping from our colonies of sugar, to-

Commentaries, book i., chapter 13.

bacco, cotton, wool, etc., to any place but England, 'for the sole

benefit of our own navigation and people.' *

As trade expanded and became important, the original idea of securing the services of ships and seamen for the use of the sovereign, expanded too, and was modified; and, not only the state was to be served by providing it with ships and seamen when wanted, but all the opulence to be gained by traffic was to be confined and guaranteed exclusively to the subjects of the English crown. In the seventeenth century, according to Hume, trade first became an affair of state; and the great wealth and power which were then its fruits, directed the attention of statesmen to the political importance of commerce. The spirit of trade is mutual advantage; the makers of navigation laws, in the seventeenth century, thought they could secure all its benefits to one people; and they attempted to create a monopoly of that which only lives by diffusion. For upwards of a century, the 12th Charles II., cap. 18, was continued in force, with partial modifications and suspensions; but the progress of trade, and the conversion of our noble American plantations into the United States, have latterly caused numerous relaxations of the monopoly. were generally the growth of circumstances, such as the increase in the trade and maritime power of Prussia, which threatened restrictions on our trade, and were unwillingly adopted. More than anything else, perhaps, the extension of the warehousing system, promoted mainly to facilitate the collection of the revenue, and increase that trade which the navigation laws narrowed and impeded, has impaired the monopoly. To trace all these alterations would be rather tedious than profitable. and we shall content ourselves with describing the present state of the law, as contradistinguished from the Act of Charles II., according to the evidence of Mr. Shaw Lefevre.

A consolidating Act, the 8th and 9th Vic. c. 88, is now called the Navigation Law. By the second clause of that Act, several species of goods enumerated, the produce of Europe, such as figs, masts, timber, tallow, etc., cannot be imported for consumption except in British ships, or in ships of the country from which they are imported; but a great number of commodities common in trade are not enumerated, such as flour, fisn, oil, refined sugar, etc., which being the produce of Europe may be imported without any restriction as to navigation. Besides this distinction of which no man, Mr. Lefevre says, now knows the reason, though the law was passed in its present form so late as 1845, there are other exceptions to the general rule introduced in conse-

^{*} For this condensed view of the provisions of the old law, see 'Annals of Commerce,' vol. ii., p. 484., et seq.

quence of treaties with various powers, and granted to them as privileges, so as to narrow still more, and complicate still more this restriction on figs, etc., for the sake of navigation, from which flour, etc., is exempt. By the third clause, goods, the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, are prohibited to be imported from Europe for home consumption, except goods the produce of the dominions of the Emperor of Morocco, goods the produce of Asia or Africa, brought into places within the Straits of Gibraltar, etc., which may be imported from countries within the Straits, but not otherwise across the Atlantic Ocean. The origin of these exceptions and some others, is lost in the change of circumstances which have taken place, and no good ground can now be assigned for continuing them. The fourth clause enacts, that goods, the produce of Asia, Africa, or America, shall not be imported in foreign ships, unless they be ships of the country in Asia, Africa, or America, of which the goods are the produce, and from which they are imported. To this clause, too, there are exceptions, the motives for which are at present little understood. This clause limits the imports from our colonies in Asia, Africa, and America, to British ships. The fifth clause provides that all manufactured goods shall be deemed to be the produce of the country where they are manufactured. The manufactures of the Channel Islands, however, except ships, are treated as foreign, if made of foreign Their ships, though built of such materials, are materials. entitled to registration. By the sixth clauses, importation from those islands is limited to British ships. The seventh clause limits exportation to our colonies from the United Kingdom to Clause eight confines the coasting trade to British ships. British ships; and the ninth and tenth clauses regulate the intermediate trade of the Channel Islands and of British possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, which must be in British ships. Our colonial trade is further regulated by the British Possessions Act, which prevents importation into British possessions in America from any country except the United Kingdom, into any port unless declared a free port by that Act or by order in council; and it also prevents ships of any country from importing into the colonies, unless such country has had express permission given by order in council. The privilege of trading with our colonies has been given to a considerable number of states without any restriction, and to France and Spain with restrictions, amongst which, though why, nobody seems to know, French vessels are not allowed to carry the great staple of their country, wines, to our colonies. Several of our colonies at present are dependent for subsistence on imports from the

United States, and to have kept up the old exclusions would have doomed them to starvation.

In the modern law there is no trace of the prohibition on foreigners to reside or be factors in our colonies. Exportation of every kind from England is entirely free, though it must employ shipping equally with importation; the old notion of a balance of trade operated on our lawgivers in the seventeenth century, and made them remove the restrictions on exportation. But in respect to the relative employment of our own shipping and foreign shipping, a clause which permits any goods in any ship not probibited by some other law, to be imported for the purpose of being warehoused and re-exported, is of great importance. Any thing may be exported in any ship, and any thing may be imported in any ship to be re-exported. The present restrictions on navigation only apply to goods to be used within the country. They are no longer helps to maritime power, but mere impediments to consumption; and the once celebrated Navigation Law, the source, as was said, of our maritime power, has dwindled into a mere auxiliary of the bread-taxing landlords. The inheritors of the power of those who broke Richard's pledge to 'the bond tenants and villains of the realm,' still treat us as slaves, and would confine us if they could for our subsistence to the acres which pay rent to them. The popular prejudices which still cluster around navigation laws are not associated with the new system of which the people know nothing, but with the old system which has been gradually abrogated. new system, while the shipowners still cling to it as a rag of protection, is rather vituperated than praised; it is the old and the dead law which is the idol of popular admiration. It is that law which squires, as taught by their clerical preceptors, still eulogise at the hustings, and of which farmers dream when they cheer the squire for magnificently promising to uphold the ancient institutions of the land.

In examining the effects of the law, it may be useful to consider them in relation to the past, or those of the old law, and in relation to the present,—if there be any present in respect to laws, and all their effects do not belong always to the past—or those of the new law. Adam Smith said, and his words on this subject, have been often quoted by the monopolists, on account, probably, of the rarity of the support they find in his pages, that 'the regulations of the Act of Charles II., though partly proceeding from national animosity, were as wise as if they had all been dictated by the most deliberate wisdom.' Blackstone, too, in England, a more popular and Tory authority, boasting that the 'law was intended to punish our sugar colonies, and clip the wings of our opulent and aspiring neigh-

bours,' declares 'that it is the most beneficial of all our statutes for the trade and commerce of these kingdoms.' If such a bundle of prohibitions and restrictions—such an indulgence of national animosity have really been a national benefit, all the general rules on which the policy of the nation has been latterly based must be erroneous; the foundations of political science are laid in shifting sand, and we shall be encouraged by the authority of these sages to adopt as national policy that which is morally wrong. Briefly to trace the effects of our navigation laws, in past times, therefore, has a higher interest than that of merely establishing an historical fact; and to abolish them, a higher object in view than that of increasing opulence. It will vindicate Smith's own science, replace the foundations of Blackstone's law, and contribute to shew that consistency and harmony pervade the moral, as they pervade the physical world.

Analysis, by revealing the common elements of all bodies, has given modern philosophers a mastery over nature the ancients never contemplated. Its power in detecting truth is not less in the moral than in the physical world. If we have patience to apply it, and break up this great composite body of navigation law into its political and commercial effects, we shall more speedily get at the truth. Co-existing with the navigation laws, a wonderful increase has taken place in the political power of Great Britain. Her fleets have gradually spread over every sea, her maritime supremacy has been established, and it is consistent with our customary philosophy to ascribe this supremacy and power to the laws which were professedly passed 'The result,' says Mr. Richmond, speaking to secure them. the general sentiment, 'the laws aimed at, was obtained.' M'Gregor, the late intelligent secretary to the Board of Trade, and other authorities assert, 'that our maritime power has prospered in defiance and in spite of the navigation laws.' Let us look at their effects.

From the earliest historical period England and the Netherlands carried on an extensive traffic with each other to their mutual advantage. It was continually interrupted by wars and obstructed by political restrictions, but it grew in spite of these obstacles, and was profitable to both people. Any national jealousy which existed before the reign of Elizabeth, was confined to the Burgundian Netherlands; with Holland, which, compared to Antwerp, was late in rising into importance, we were uniformly good friends. The Reformation added a religious to a commercial bond, and when the United Provinces separated from Spain, and established their independence, England became their staunch ally and friend. The two united formed the great bulwark of protestantism.

After that event there sprung up a trade rivalry between The progress of the United Provinces in wealth was, until then, unexampled. After the ruin of Antwerp, many manufacturers and many industrious citizens, took refuge in De Witt tells us, that between 1571 and 1650, a period of seventy-nine years, Amsterdam increased three-fold; as marvellous an increase as that of the towns of England or the United States in the present century. The Dutch had opened a large trade to India, they had extended their commerce to the West Indies and the Mediterranean, they had surpassed and almost extinguished the Hanse towns, they had become colonizers to a great extent; and in the early part of the seventeenth century presented to the world a splendid specimen of successful industry and enterprize. In the prosecution of their designs they were not always just. What nation ever was? They interfered with the growing trade of England to the East Indies; attacked English ships, and committed the horrid massacre of Amboyna. They then sailed their vessels cheaper than the English, they had in proportion a greater number; they carried on traffic with all the world and for all the world, and even carried on part of the coasting trade of England. Their great and sudden power, their extensive business, their services even to our own merchants and people excited envy, their intemperance excited hatred; and within little more than sixty years after, England had contributed to establish their independence, England passed the Navigation Act to cripple their trade, abate their power, and teach them humility. A more remarkable example of national animosity attempting to strike down a rival by means of a statute, is, perhaps, not to be found in the annals of trade legislation.

We were not at war, however, with Holland when the law was enacted, though shortly afterwards a war broke out between the two Republics, which all contemporary authorities ascribe to our Navigation Law. The Dutch government earnestly remonstrated against it. 'It was the foundation' says the parliamentary History of England, 'of the grand quarrel that soon afterwards ensued.'* After a short interval, during which the two countries, in the time of Cromwell and Charles II., were trying to injure each other, they again became united in defence of liberty and religion; and from the accession of William III., till the American war, they continued firm and fast friends. Whatever injured one was an abatement of the political power of the other. Their great opponents were the catholic and maritime powers, France and Spain, against the former of which, by far the most formidable naval

antagonist England ever yet found, she had to struggle for her very existence; and by weakening her ally she augmented the relative strength of her enemy. Admitting, therefore, that the Act really 'clipped the wings of the Dutch,' from whom we could have nothing to fear, that was tantamount to clipping our own wings. In its political effects, the Navigation Act was at variance with the policy of the country for upwards of a century. It plunged England into ruinous war, wasted her strength, and lessened the power of her most stedfast political friend.

The Navigation Law has given rise to numerous other contentions, and has continually provoked the angry feelings of foreigners. It was a restriction on their trade as well as our own. It prescribed how their ships must be navigated to enter our ports. After the separation of the United States, it kept alive the rancour that civil war had engendered. Our maritime code, including this Act, and our practice of impressment was adjudged extremely offensive to the Americans; and taking their seamen, and searching their ships led to the war of 1812. It is somewhat singular that this war, like the war under Charles II., which grew from our navigation laws, was neither honourable nor profitable to Great Britain. In the one, the Dutch sailed up the Medway; in the other, our frigates were captured; in both, coming after the navigation laws, and growing out of them, a severe blow was inflicted on

our naval reputation, and our maritime superiority.

Apart from the number of our seamen, which we shall consider under the commercial effects of these laws, the defence of the country must ever have been dependent on their courage, and devotion to their country. It is characteristic of their pursuits, that they cannot be confined to one place. Whatever weakens their seek service all over the world. attachment to their country tends to deprive it of their aid. more violent infringement of the rights of property, and of freedom, than to prescribe how many seamen shipowners shall employ, and of what country they shall be, and to seize them when wanted, is not to be found in the annals of meddling, despotic legislation. Apprentices, and a certain number of seamen, being forced by the law on the shipmaster, who was very generally the shipowner, there was at once hostility between them; and in addition to the unpleasant feelings which are sometimes generated between employers and employed, there was always the animosity caused by the chain of the law binding together 'The masters,' says Sir James Stirling, unwilling parties. complain of the law about apprentices, that it forces them to take servants who are not profitable. The law requires that about a sixth part of the whole number of scafaring persons

shall at all times be apprentices; but if too many seamen are made by the process, the hardship falls upon the old sailor, who is thrown out of employment, or is prevented from getting full employment. It appears to be an arbitrary interference with the labour market, and is at all times a hardship on the shipowner, and at certain times a hardship on the men.' Of course, if it have any effect, it increases the number of seamen disproportionately to the demand for their services, and beats down It increases their dependence too on the shiptheir wages. owners, who are irritated against them by the law. The facility of finding employment in other countries counteracts this effect in some degree, but their superabundance thus becomes a means of supplying foreign shipping with seamen. Formerly, they went in great numbers to Holland, but since the growth of the mercantile marine of the United States, they go thither. and it is notorious that American vessels are, in a great measure,

manned by English seamen.

At the same time, the object of the law in compelling the merchant captain to take so many apprentices and English sailors is, that the State may have their services when it requires them; and it takes them by impressment without regard to the wants, at the moment, of the shipcaptain. He cannot always rely on the services of those who are forced on him. On the same principle the law allows the seaman to break his contract with the shipowner, and enter on board a king's ship, and it encourages the shipowner, if he be displeased with his men, to break his contract with them on a slight pretence, and send them on board ships of war. The men have never looked on their employers as protectors, nor the shipowners on the seamen as faithful servants whom they are bound to protect. The consequence of our maritime code, therefore, is to weaken or destroy the cordiality that ought to exist between shipcaptains and seamen. Their disagreement is notorious; though naturally they have strong motives for mutual kindness. For ages have our shipowners witnessed, we are afraid with satisfaction, the practice of impressment, as tending to keep the seamen more dependent on them; and in spite of their boasted patriotism and humanity, they have never, in modern times, lifted a finger to protect their servants from this grossest of all outrages. From these facts we have no hesitation in concluding that the Navigation Act has had a most deleterious effect on the character, as men, both of the shipowners, or shipcaptains, and the mariners.

We need scarcely add, that excluding competition has not increased the professional skill of either class. We regret to say, that it is given in evidence by several gentlemen, that English ships are not navigated, and their cargoes not stowed. with the same care, that is taken of some other ships. board American ships English seamen are highly valued; nevertheless, on board English ships their services are neither equally efficient nor equally meritorious. An American ship, though her crew be composed exclusively of Englishmen, is navigated. and better navigated, by fewer men than an English ship. Secure against competition in the home and colonial trade, English shipmasters, and English seamen, who certainly were amongst the most renowned of their profession before the Navigation Act was passed, have not kept pace with the rest of society in improvement, and no longer stand A 1 on the great register of mankind. The Navigation Law is a perpetual interference with the natural laws which regulate the relations between men, and demoralizes and degrades them. Taken in conjunction with impressment, it has diminished the attachment of our maritime population to the empire, and has lessened

its strength and security.

Commercially, these laws have been even more strikingly injurious than politically. Ships are that part of a nation's capital which can be most advantageously and easily lent to other nations. It is the natural and best means for a more advanced to assist a less advanced nation. On this principle our ships are now carrying on the trade of South America, and however advantageous that is to us, it is equally advantageous to the people of that country. Without our ships they would have no trade. About the period of the Commonwealth, as we have already stated, the Dutch had made a rapid stride in improvement. They had gone ahead of other nations. They had capital to spare, and they lent them their ships. They became the general carriers. To a small extent they carried for Englishmen, they even participated in our coasting trade, and did that for us and the rest of the world, which we are now doing with so much mutual advantage for South America. It is perfectly clear from a fact, mentioned by Roger Coke, namely, that ship building and seamen's wages rose very much after the Navigation Act was passed, that we had quite as much trade as our resources were adequate to carry on. The prosperity of the Dutch, however, excited jealousy more than emulation, and the Act seizing their property put a stop to their useful services. It annihilated so much trade which was mutually advantageous, or it never would have existed, its existence being the proof of its advantages; and thus all the injury which the Act inflicted on the commerce of the Dutch was a reciprocal and an equal injury to the commerce of some of our own people. 'Many petitions, accordingly, were presented, in

the year following its enactment, from the merchants, touching private inconvenience sustained by the new Navigation Act.'* 'In two years,' says Roger Coke, writing in 1671, after the passing of the Navigation Act of the Rump Parliament, 'ships became one-third dearer than before, and seamen's wages became so excessive that they have lost us the Greenland and Muscovy trades.' 'Putting,' as Mr. M'Culloch says, 'Holland and Germany, so far as it depended on us, out of the commercial world,'† it nearly annihilated our trade with them; and it required first, the French revolutionary war, which threw into our hands the exclusive supply of colonial goods, and next, Reciprocity treaties, and the improved feelings of modern times, to revive and extend the trade between Great

Britain and those opulent and civilized people.

Ever since the destruction of the Norway and Greenland trades, these laws have continued to impede or destroy some branch of commerce. Being restrictions on friendly communication, and prohibitions of honest traffic, which men would not engage in unless it were beneficial, they could have no other effect. Of the extent of the mischief they have done, we have no positive evidence, because they prevented trade from coming into existence. The very complaints of the shipowners prove the present injuriousness of the laws. But for what yet remains of them, the ship owners say, more Swedish, more Prussian, more Danish, more American ships would trade with England, her colonies, and the rest of the world. They allege, as the argument in favour of the laws, that they annihilate much trade. As the old prohibitions and restrictions have been relaxed, more foreigners, they complain, have carried on trade with Englishmen. To prevent or prohibit that trade, is a positive injury and a positive injustice to all the parties who would engage in it and would profit by it. Nominally, the shipowners oppose foreigners; in reality, they advocate a restriction on some of their own countrymen. The complaints of the shipowners of the relaxations of the law, and their resistance to further relaxations, on the ground that foreign shipping would thereby be encouraged, are testimonies borne by the advocates of the law to its actual injustice and injuriousness. They vehemently contend, indeed, that by permitting other men to have these benefits, the shipowners would be injured; but this assertion of selfishness is clearly a supposition only, it is not a fact; and experience has proved it to be unfounded. The very nature of trade, which consists in conferring mutual advantages, shows that the more

• 'Parliamentary History,' vol. xx., p. 85. † For both passages, see Mr. McCulloch's 'Commercial Dictionary,' article, Navigation Laws. others succeed, the more they may benefit us. With destitute savages no gainful commerce can be carried on; we supplant them, and appropriate their soil; and the more industrious and wealthy are other people, the better customers they make.

The shipowners complain that since 1824, when the first Reciprocity act passed, in pursuance of which, treaties have been entered into with a number of states, giving their ships equal privileges with British ships, foreign ships have increased very much. That is what might be expected. The Reciprocity treaties were made to attain that end. Accordingly, the foreign tonnage that entered inwards, and cleared outwards, in 1846, was 3,727,438, being an increase, as compared to 1824, (1,506,148) of 2,221,290 tons, or 151.47 per cent. In the ten years, however, which preceded 1824, the increase was only 303,920 tons, or 25.27 per cent. Comparing that with the average increase, in ten years, of the period subsequent to 1824, 68.85 per cent... we see that foreign shipping did increase very nearly three times as fast in ten years subsequent to, as in the ten years prior to 1824. The Reciprocity treaties have answered their purpose, foreign shipping has increased, and trade has increased by restriction being removed. But has English shipping not increased too? In the twenty-two years ending with 1846, the tonnage of the English shipping entered inwards, and cleared outwards, was 8,688,148; in 1824 it was 3,454,853, or it had increased in 1846, 5,233,295 tons, or 148.84 per cent. The average increase in ten years was sixty-seven per cent, while the increase in ten years prior to 1824, was only 34.83 per cent. Thus, though foreign tonnage has increased since 1824, so has British tonnage, and almost in equal proportion to all the foreign tonnage, not the tonnage of any one nation, engaged in our trade. It is further to be noticed, that the centesimal increase in British shipping since 1824, is on 3,454,853 tons, while that on the foreign shipping is only on a tonnage of 1,506,148; and there may naturally be more room for the extension of the smaller trade, opened in 1824, than of the trade already choked with shipping.

Another instructive table is to be found in the parliamentary paper, number 588, session 1847. It states the amount of tonnage of ships registered, and belonging to the United Kingdom and its colonies in each year, from 1821 to 1846. In 1821 the tonnage was 2,560,203. The average of the four following years was 2,534,768 tons, or a falling off, under the old navigation laws, and before the first Reciprocity treaty was negotiated, of 25,435 tons, or 1 per cent. per annum. In the year 1826 the number of ships increased considerably, 2,635,644 tons, no doubt in expectation of reaping advantage from the Reciprocity

treaties, which some shipowners had promoted. In the four following years the tonnage fell off even to less than in 1821, viz.; in 1827, -2,460,500; 1828, -2,518,191; 1829, -2,517,000; and in 1830,—2,531,819. But this falling off is accounted for by a new registration Act having been passed in 1827, which compelled the owners to register their ships anew, and cleared from the register all that had a merely nominal existence. In 1831 the tonnage increased to 2,581,964, and it continued steadily to increase to the last year of the return, 1846, when it reached to 3,817,112. From 1821 it had increased 1,256,909 tons. On the average of the six years, 1841-6, the increase was 50,772 tons per year, while on the average of the six years, 1821-6, the increase was only 12,573 tons per year. Thus the shipping belonging to the ports of the empire increased in the last six years, when the Reciprocity treaties were in full operation, when free trade had, to a great extent, been carried into effect, four times as fast as in the six years before the navigation laws were relaxed, before there were any Reciprocity treaties, and when the shipowners had that restricted trade, for which some of them still pray. The case would have been stronger had we not given the shipowners the benefit of their own increased exertion in 1826, in expectation of what the Reciprocity treaties were to do for them. Excluding 1826, the shipping actually declined between 1821 and 1825, indicating that the relaxation of the navigation laws saved our shipping from decay.

They say, or Mr. Richmond says, in their name, that the number and tonnage of our ships have not increased in proportion to the increase of our trade. Prone to grumble, they seize hold of a statistical fact, and without knowing its bearings, interpret it, by their fallacious hopes and disappointments, into meaning the general inconvenience. Between 1827, the first year of the new Registry Act, and 1846, the increase of the tonnage belonging to the United Kingdom from 2,460,500, to 3,817,112, was 1,356,612, or 55 per cent., while the increase of tonnage of British shipping entered inward and cleared outward. in the same period, from 3,974,580 in 1827, was to 8,688,148 in 1846; or 4,713,568 tons, or 118 per cent. From both statements all consideration of foreign shipping is excluded. The tonnage entered inwards and outwards indicates the business done, the tonnage of the shipping belonging to the empire, the number of instruments by which it was done. The result is that the business done increased more than twice as fast as the instruments to do it. In 1846, 3,817,112 tonnage of shipping did as much business as very nearly three times the 2,460,500 tons of shipping in 1827. By the introduction of steam, by the employment of steam tugs to assist sailing vessels, by the

general improvement and management of ships, their efficacy was so much increased, that in 1846 one ship did as much work as two ships of equal tonnage in 1827. Ships, like other instruments, have been improved, and their efficiency increased, while the number and tonnage of our shipping have also been in-

creased since 1827, 55 per cent.

Mr. George Young, in his evidence before the committee, notices the increase of business, in comparison to the increase of shipping, to disparage it:—'According,' he says, 'to the existing practice with regard to every steamer that runs between Dover and Ostend, every voyage is included in the returns of the trade between that country and this; and the result, therefore, is, that a steamer of two hundred tons making two voyages a-week, is made in this return to figure as a tonnage of upwards

of twenty thousand.'

But this mode of estimating tonnage has been always the practice. The steamer of two hundred tons, now making two voyages a week, and figuring for a tonnage of 20,000, in comparison to the sailing brig or schooner of two hundred tons, that twenty-five or thirty years ago made the same voyage sometimes in a day, and sometimes in four weeks, figuring at the end of the year as 4,000 or 5,000 tonnage of shipping, becomes an admirable test of the greater carrying power of our vessels, and of their improvement, as instruments of transport. Less money than formerly, in proportion, now serves to carry on trade; fewer cotton mills than formerly spin the required quantity of cotton yarn; and in like manner fewer ships in proportion than formerly carry to and fro an equal quantity of goods. crease in their efficiency, and the increase in their numbers shows a great competition amongst shipowners, and great profit, to excite their competition. If freight has sunk a shilling or two per ton, they have no right to call out that the nation is undone. Their own exertions have brought about improvement, and cheapened carriage. If they have gone too far, and now, as they say, keep their vessels afloat more from patriotism than profit, the fault is their own; and the owners of old ships not worked so advantageously as the new ships, who are the principal sufferers, should complain of their more active compatriots, not of those relaxations in the law under which, and in consequence of which, their vessels have increased both in efficiency and number.

It is true, as the shipowners say, that, on the whole, since the Reciprocity treaties were passed, foreign tonnage has increased, proportionately, somewhat faster than British tonnage in our whole trade; but, far from regarding that as an evil, it manifests, we think, a progress in civilization, which may well compensate for any comparative retardation in the increase of British shipping. According to the statement already quoted, the increase of foreign ships in our trade is 2.63 per cent. more than the increase of British ships; according to another table given by Mr. Porter, there was no greater increase of foreign than of British Assuming, however, that the increase of foreign tonnage in our trade was three per cent. more than the increase of the British tonnage between 1824 and 1844; within the same period the British tonnage has increased in the trade of the United States, relatively more than United States shipping, the most flourishing of the world, and the envy of our shipowners. In the four years subsequent to 1820, the average centesimal proportions of tonnage engaged in the trade of the United States was, American, 88.74, foreign, 11.26; the average of the four years prior to 1844, was—American, 69.38, foreign, 30.62. The foreign tonnage had therefore increased in the American trade at the rate of 29.36 per cent., while the increase of foreign tonnage in our trade was not 3 per cent. Of the increase of foreign tonnage in the American trade, 75 per cent. was British, and only 25 per cent. all other foreign shipping. In the four years ending 1828, the centesimal proportions of French and foreign tonnage engaged in the trade of France were, French 41.52, foreign 58.48; and in four years, ending 1844, French 32.66, foreign 67.34. Thus in nineteen years, the foreign tonnage engaged in the French trade, in relation to French tonnage, had increased 8.96 per cent., while the foreign tonnage engaged in ours, had only increased 3 per We have not met with similar returns of the foreign tonnage engaged in the trade of other countries; but its increase in the trade of Great Britain, of France, and of the United States—three of the greatest trading nations of the world—is sufficient to warrant the deduction, that in the trade of most countries, the increase of foreign shipping is greater than the increase of native shipping. This is what we might expect, and it shows that the modern policy of removing restrictions has attained the end proposed.

England, and other European nations, following her example, have, within the last few years, abolished many restrictions on foreign trade. Each state has so far ceased to injure its own people, and the foreigners who would trade with them. As the exclusions have been removed, both the injured parties have profited by the change, and have increased their transactions. Of course, the more numerous those restrictions were in different countries, and the more they are got rid of, the greater must be the comparative increase of foreign ships. In consequence of that, however, our own national wealth increases, so that the advantage of two nations—the thing desired—ensues,

from the abolition of restrictions. The peculiar advantages of each nation become, in the progress, equally accessible to all, and there is a greater general abundance. If more Prussian ships come hither, in relation to English ships, than formerly, more English ships go to France and the United States, relatively to French and American ships. The shipping of each country, as restrictions are removed, naturally engages in that trade which is most profitable to it, for which it has some peculiar advantages, and which, in the end, must be most profitable to all. If fewer English ships than formerly are engaged in the Prussian trade, it is because the owners find a more profitable trade with the French and the Americans. Selfish avarice. thinking only of petty, momentary gains, and jealously believing, all that goes to another, a loss to itself, may fancy the increase of foreign shipping a proper subject for patriotic complaint; but statesmanship will regard it with favour, as an evidence of increasing wealth; and philanthropy will hail it with intense satisfaction, as binding fast in peace, by friendly commercial relations, all the nations of the earth.

As the increase, however, in the number of Prussian ships engaged in the English trade, and the diminution of English vessels in the Prussian trade, is Mr.G.F. Young's great argument for retaining the Navigation Law, we may give an explanation of it. It is mentioned by Mr. Tottie in his evidence, that Swedish vessels, and probably other northern vessels, make their first voyage to England to get their fittings here. This is one circumstance which makes it more advantageous for a Prussian ship than an English ship to convey a cargo to England. She would come otherwise empty, for come she must. Prussian ships, and all other northern ships, engage in the carrying trade of the world, and go to the Mediterranean, South America, and other places, to get cargoes. England lies on the road, and many of them bring cargoes of timber here, on their way further south. Hence another advantage for carrying on the trade with England, possessed by ships of the north and east of Europe, which enables them to do that, while our ships are carrying on the more lucrative trade of the United States and South America. no adequate explanation could be given of the increase of Prussian ships in our trade, it is no proper subject of alarm. Prussia has, perhaps, one brig of war, presented by our government, and is not yet a maritime power that can raise the apprehension and jealousy of England.

From the obvious effects of our Reciprocity treaties in opening trade with several nations already far advanced in wealth, and increasing in population, we are not disposed to place so much stress as has been laid by some of our contemporaries on the relative greater increase of British shipping in foreign trade, where it is not protected, than in the colonial trade where it is protected. Our recent legislation has tended to throw open our colonial trade with foreign countries, formerly a strict monopoly, to foreign vessels, and, at the same time, the reciprocal legislation of other countries has tended to open to our vessels foreign trade. It is therefore to be expected, as foreigners come to share with Great Britain her colonial trade. and as foreign trade is opened, that the relative increase of our shipping should be greater in the expanding trade of the world, than in the narrow colonial trade, of which a part went to foreigners. Nevertheless, the greater increase of our shipping in foreign trade, where it is not at all protected, than in our colonial trade where it is protected; and the much greater amount of the shipping engaged in the unprotected, than in the protected trade, are facts of considerable importance, which, being known, may assuage the fears of some, from exposing our shipping to competition; and perhaps astonish others at the small amount of protection which remains to be contended for.

The return No. 4, of Sessional paper 588, is a 'statement of the tonnage of British ships that entered the ports of the United Kingdom from different foreign countries and British possessions in each of the years 1824, 1846, distinguishing the tonnage employed in the trade with British possessions, and which is protected by the navigation laws from the tonnage employed in the trade with foreign countries, and which is unprotected from competition with foreign ships. From that we learn that in 1824, the tonnage in the protected trade was 893,097, and in the unprotected trade 904,223, the two being nearly equal, the latter exceeding the former by only one eighteenth part. In 1846, however, the protected trade was only 1,735,924 tons, and the unprotected trade,—carried on with all the foreign countries of the world, and in open competition with all other ships,—was 2,558,809, the latter being 812,885 tons, or nearly one half greater than the former. The protected trade in the twenty-two years had increased 842,827 tons, or 94.37 per cent., the unprotected trade had increased 1,654,586 tons or 182.98 per cent. Thus the unprotected trade has grown to be one-half more important than the protected trade, and is increasing relatively so much faster, that the protected trade must soon become an insignificant part of the whole.

With this evidence before us of the greater increase of our shipping in that trade in which they have been exposed to competition, than in the trade from which competition is in a great measure still excluded; with the evidence that we have laid before our readers of the general increase of foreign shipping in the trade of every nation in which our shipping fully share; of the very great and rapid increase of our trade and shipping since the Reciprocity treaties were formed; of the more rapid increase of our shipping during the last six years than during the six years prior to the beginning of those treaties, with the evidence of the greater efficiency of our shipping, as well as the increase in their number, both of which have taken place under extending competition; we are perfectly satisfied that our shipping has nothing to fear from the most unlimited competition. and that it will be augmented by the removal of all restrictions on navigation. It is not necessary to pursue this part of the subject into further detail. Enough has been stated to prove that our shipowners have lost nothing by those relaxations of the law which they admit, and even contend have conferred great advantages on foreigners, including foreign shipowners. But if they have lost nothing, and they admit the injury which the law inflicts on others by their own complaints, an unanswerable case is made out against the law. Since 1824, the trade of the country has been increased three-fold, and our own shipping one third. These immense advantages have at the same time been shared by foreigners, and the present prosperity of all thus becomes an effectual guarantee of future peace.

We have given but a brief notice of the commercial effects of these laws, and have rather indicated them from the effects of relaxing the laws, than by the positive and palpable results of the laws themselves. In truth they are chiefly negations, the stifling, in its birth, of so much traffic, the annihilation of so much means of subsistence and wealth, and we can only darkly infer the mighty mischief actually done, by our knowledge of the good that has arisen from relaxing the There are many other parts of the vast subject which we must touch still more briefly. The inquiries of the committee took a wide range and brought to light many curious Mr. Tottie, the Swedish vice-consul, informed the committee, that Swedish vessels get their sails, anchors, cordage, and many of their fittings, from this country, and that naval stores to a considerable extent are annually exported from England. The captain of an American ship informed the committee, that the Americans get most of their sails, and most of the iron-work for their ships from England. Sweden even the timber is imported of which the ships are built. There was much similar evidence, and evidence of the cost of building ships, which shows the apprehension of decay from

competition to be wholly unfounded. When foreign ships are built, and fitted out, with materials from England, what can English shipowners have to fear? It was shown, that the rates of insurance for English ships, but not for their cargoes, are lower than for foreign ships. All such inquiries, however, we hold to be of comparatively little value for the legislature. It can never nicely adjust the balance, and it ought never to try, between such numerous and conflicting details. Every legislative impediment to building, victualling, and manning ships cheaply, ought to be removed; but when the legislator has done that, the success of our shipping must be entrusted to the skill of our shipwrights and seamen, and the good providence of God.

If a practical man have a grievance, if he can show that a law operates to his disadvantage, remove the grievance, alter the absurd law; but do not quit the eternal principles of morality and justice in legislation to promote the ends of particular classes. The legislator who begins to inquire into the advantages and disadvantages of different trades in different countries, will be lost amidst a multitude of details; and legislation founded on them, must be minute, contradictory, and varying. If it be apparently feasible to-day, it will be absurd to-morrow. On this account we are the less anxious to advert to many singular matters given in evidence before the committee. One merchant deposed to losing a sum of £780., because he was not allowed to bring a cargo of sugar home by any other than an English ship, and had he been allowed he would have made £1,500. Another that he lost £150. by not being allowed to import palm oil from America. Another that he was obliged to send some Alpaca wool, the produce of America, and which had been imported from Germany, back to New York, and import it thence to England before he was allowed to Almost every man who was examined narrated some instance of injury done by these restrictive laws. They prevent a free circulation of goods between the continent of England, and so prevent an equalization of prices. They increase the amount of charge for carrying passengers to our colonies, and so check emigration, and check that colonial prosperity which is a great means of increasing our navigation. They are a mass of legal restrictions on honest industry, and their effects cannot be examined without detecting their mischief. Adam Smith praised them because 'national defence is of more importance than opulence;' but in modern times the power of the State wholly depends on the ability of the people to pay taxes; opulence and defence are identical, and whatever lessens the former weakens the latter. Even the shipowners do

not say, that these laws increase the national opulence, and in admitting that they restrain trade, they admit them to be

wholly indefensible.

They abound too in incongruities. They permit refined sugar to be imported from any part of Europe, but not raw sugar. Flour made from American wheat may be imported from Hamburgh, but not the wheat. Buenos Ayrean hides must not be brought from Antwerp, but if they be dipped in a tan pit they may be readily imported. Wheat, the produce of Russia, must not be imported in a Russian ship. The law is extremely anxious to increase the number of English ships, but it will not allow ships to be bought of foreigners. English shipwrights must be paid for building them, and even a wrecked vessel can only be bought to be broken up. English capitalists can, indeed, become the owners of foreign ships, and the trade they are not allowed to carry on in their own country they carry on abroad. English ships must be owned by Englishmen, but foreigners may, to any extent, be shareholders of a steam navigation company. The law prescribes an immense number of details, but leaves them to be enforced by the lowest menial of the Custom House. Never was national security, supposing it to be derived from the Navigation Law, provided for by so poor a guarantee. It all reposes on the proverbially loose regulations of the Custom House, and on Custom House oaths.

A subject of, we think, somewhat greater importance than these details, is to show that our maritime superiority has been in no case owing to laws that every inquirer has admitted are injurious to trade. The peers and commons in parliament always take credit to themselves for all that is great and good in the nation, and all that is weak and wicked they attribute to the people or to nature. Whatever may go wrong, they never doubt their own wisdom, and never accuse themselves. Habitually engaged in squabbling for place and power, with no higher ambition than to be tricked out in stars and garters, like savages in their war paint and coats of feathers, at one time grovelling at the foot of the throne, and at another pandering to the lowest passions of the mob, they arrogantly assume to be, by their deliberations and decisions, the authors of all civilization. They emblazon their names on some of the great features of society, and impose themselves on posterity as great master artists; while the truth is that society goes forward in spite of them, and, in general, they must be shoved aside, to make way for improvement. With no part of society are more prejudices in their favour bound up than with our shipping. In many cases, as in laws to provide for the poor, which are invariably found, instead of extinguishing, to increase

pauperism, the objects at which they have pretended to aim have never been realised. In this the Navigation Acts appear to have been eminently successful. The professed object of the law was to secure our maritime superiority, and promote our commercial greatness. We have become the first maritime and commercial nation of the world. We have attained, by means of trade and ships, a power that the authors of the law never had any conception of. The rapid growth both of our commerce and maritime ascendancy is almost coeval with the Navigation Law of the Commonwealth. It is not suprising, therefore, with the general disposition of mankind to flatter lawgivers, that our greatness should have been attributed to the law; that writers of such eminence as Smith and Blackstone should have praised it, and that the popular prejudices at every successive naval victory and every addition to our trade, should have been strengthened in its favour. It is, historically, a very strong case, to justify legislative meddling with trade, and to condemn the modern theory of Laissez faire. To explain, therefore, the natural origin of our maritime power, and show that this restrictive and passion-born law has rather impeded than advanced it, may help to establish a theory, the firm belief in which we conceive to be essential

to the quiet progress and happiness of mankind.

Though it is common-place, we must remind our readers that no laws could confer a maritime superiority on Hungary or Bohemia. A sea-coast is indispensable; and including all the British isles, our coast is so vast, and so numerous are its harbours, that it may be doubted whether our maritime superiority is quite commensurate to its proportionate extent. Our people live in and by the sea. 'They talk about ships,' says Mr. Richmond, 'from the time they can talk.' 'There has always been something attractive in the trade in shipping. says the same advocate of the navigation laws, 'in a maritime country like England.* Our children, from their earliest infancy, are familiar with the management of these magnificent machines. They paddle in the sea; they launch their own little ships; they go on board large vessels and boats, handle the oars, climb the rigging, and naturally become seamen. Laws and police might forbid boys from such dangerous exercises, as in France, and might prevent them from becoming seamen, but they can add nothing, and do add nothing to the attractions of a maritime life. Our laws have connected sea-going with hardship and brutality; they have surrounded ships with terror by their injustice; they have deterred the population from embracing a maritime life by impressment, and have in no wise con-

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tributed to our possessing that maritime population which is the real kernel of our naval supremacy. That is due to the

nature of our country.

From the beginning of history our population was not only maritime, but enterprising. The Saxons, in their hide boats, were intrepid seamen long before the reign of Alfred; and our maritime reputation was established before the Act of Richard Drake had been round the world, and the Armada defeated, before the Rump Parliament, with its coercive measures for sugar colonies, and its spiteful law against Dutch trade had come into existence. Even when Blake gained his reputation and his victories, the Navigation Act could have had no beneficial influence; and our arms were more triumphant, and our maritime power more marked immediately before, than after that enactment. The Dutch sailed up the Medway when it was in full operation, and the traditionary recollection of that disgrace, followed by no subsequent similar disaster, may have tended to strengthen the conviction that we were indebted for our safety to the Act which was reported to have crippled the naval power of the Dutch. The spirit of enterprise for which our vast maritime reputation has been long renowned, was no more the offspring of our navigation laws than was the geo-

graphical position and form of our country.

Subsequent to the passing of the Navigation Act by the Rump Parliament, our trade, and with that our maritime

Rump Parliament, our trade, and with that our maritime power, undoubtedly made a rapid and a continuous stride; but, fortunately for the truth, the passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope, and the continent of America, had been discovered before. Most of our plantations, too, on that continent, had been made prior to our quarrel with the Dutch. Thus Great Britain naturally possessed great capabilities, both moral and physical, for becoming a great maritime and trading power, at the period of the Commonwealth, and the colonies and plantations she then possessed may convince us that she had not neglected her advantages. The Navigation Act of the Rump Parliament was intended to curtail a colonial trade already established. Of all the single events in the history of mankind, the discovery of America by the seamen of Europe, enriching some states, exciting the trading emulation of others, and establishing in a new and fertile country a great population of Europeans, has perhaps most contributed to extend the trade of Europe. That was clearly the chief cause of the vast increase of trade which commenced soon afterwards, and has ever since continued. However trite may be the remark, it is for some minds necessary to add, that of this discovery, and of the vast trade which ensued from it, the acts of the Rump Parliament, and of Charles 11., though they existed contemporaneously with many of its effects, were not the cause. The Navigation Laws had no influence whatever in creating and extending the trade with America.

No country has profited more by that, than Great Britain. The previous discovery of the mariner's compass promoted voyages across the ocean, in preference to the old practice of groping along the coast. Before that, the north and east of Europe, including the Hans Towns, were flourishing states, and carried on a large coasting trade with the south and west. As long sea voyages became common, and as the importation of colonial and East India produce by the Atlantic Ocean superseded much of the coasting trade between the north-east and south-west of Europe, including the coasts of the Mediterranean, the position of Great Britain, intermediate between the former and the new countries of the west, having, as it were, a fair starting point for her ships, which the seamen of the Baltic, the Elbe, and Weser, had not, they, too, being closed up a large part of the year, while her western ports were always open to the ocean, made her, and she has ever since continued, a convenient depot for distributing colonial produce to the north and east of Europe. Its ships, better calculated for coasting than over-sea voyages, were spared from crossing the ocean, a matter of some difficulty in those days of scurvy and ignorance of lemon-juice; and, as a matter of convenience, they came hither for colonial produce, instead of going to the Antilles. position of Great Britain and her colonial possessions explain not only the great share she acquired of the increasing trade of America, but her ability to supersede the Dutch in supplying with colonial produce the north of Europe. After her quarrel with Holland, which added New York to her plantations, she became the natural monopolist of the trade with North America. 'In the trade with British colonies,' says Sir James Sterling, 'British ships are favoured by the circumstance that the transactions are for the most part carried on by the subjects of the same country, speaking the same language, and living under the protection of the same laws.' In many cases, the colonists and the shipowners were the same parties, or parties closely related; and thus our colonial trade naturally fell into the hands of our own people. In the first instance, the colonists had generally only wants which the mother country could supply; and for some time after being established, the colonial trade was a natural monopoly; and, independently of the Navigation Act, was confirmed in our hands. Barring the way between the well-peopled, civilized north of Europe, and the western continent, stretching into the Atlantic near to America, and possessing more noble plantations than any other European country, Great Britain acquired the lion's share of the new trade consequent on the discovery of America; and the wealth and power which ensued have, by the populace and even by philosophers, been falsely ascribed to an act of parliament for 'clipping the wings' of our ally and customer. Over our geographical position, over our natural capabilities for naval dominion, over the discovery of America, which so extended trade, our Navigation Acts had no more influence than over the tides of the ocean; and the strength of our oak timber might as well be attributed to the wisdom of parliament, as the maritime superiority which has so many natural causes.

That our Navigation Laws which superfluously pretended to secure all our colonial trade to our own people, had not this effect, seems evident from the fact that similar laws effected no similar benefit for Spain. The intercourse with her colonies was rigidly restricted by law to her own subjects. Long before the independence of the colonies, however, the trade with them had fallen, by smuggling mainly, into the hands of foreigners, and since their independence it has been almost exclusively carried on by foreigners. Spain has not become the seat of any great manufacture for supplying the wants of her colonies, and while the vast trade begun between England and her plantations, has been amazingly extended and increased with the United States, Spain has lost all her trade with her colonies, which are supplied with European goods, chiefly from England and France. Navigation Laws could create or secure a trade, there is no reason why Spain should not at this moment be the monopolist of all the trade to the countries that were once her magnificent possessions in America. But we see from the rapid extension of our own trade with the United States and with other countries as the power of our Navigation Laws has been abridged, that they can have no such effect, and it is an outrage to reason and to nature, to attribute such beneficial and magnificent effects, as the trade and maritime superiority of Great Britain, to the embodiment into a law of the pettyfogging prejudices of the Rump Parliament.

The vast trade of our country and our maritime security are fixed, we are happy to say, on far broader foundations—foundations that nothing can remove, though we may by acts of parliament suicidically destroy the great life that has grown from them. Nothing is more likely to lead to that terrible calamity than a belief that we are indebted for our greatness to legislation. It is true, that as England became

powerful from these natural causes, and as the Act directed against the Dutch continued in existence, our rivals became relatively less powerful at sea; but similar natural causes explain the change, and we commit a fatal mistake by ascribing it to an act of parliament. Holland had a much less sea coast, a vastly inferior territory, and less means of increasing in population and power than England. Her coast navigation is extremely difficult. and the class of vessels suitable for that purpose are not adapted to long sea voyages. The coasters and the colliers of Great Britain, however, the brigs of Yarmouth, the cutters of Bridport,—are calculated to cross every sea. The relative inferiority of Holland is owing to these natural causes, and we should waste and undermine our own strength, we should foster error, corruption, and decay, did we continue to believe that her compararative feebleness is the consequence of our Navigation Laws. No doubt they injured Holland, but they inflicted an equal or a greater injury on England. One of the main causes of the comparative slow progress of Holland was excessive taxation. In that, all writers agree. 'I believe,' says Mr. Richmond, an advocate for navigation laws, and on this point an authority, confirming a well-known fact, 'a Dutch ship was more expensively sailed than an English one, for Holland was the most heavily taxed country in Europe.' From the period of her sudden start into prosperity after the establishment of her independence, her rulers were ambitious of playing a great part in the political affairs of Europe. They maintained vast fleets and armies; they dictated to Germany and Spain; they acquired and jealously guarded an incommensurate colonial empire: they involved their country in enormous expense, and cursed her with a system of fiscal confiscation, that, to this day, in spite of wonderful care, economy, and frugality, has retarded her progress. England is now pursuing, under the delusion that acts of parliament can give national greatness, a similar The act which can confer that may well retrieve any little disaster, and we rely accordingly for our prosperity on the completely rotten stick of statesmanship. From free competition our people cannot escape, neither do they wish it, for by commerce they live and thrive. On every article, however, from the rudest produce of the soil to the most refined manufactures, from corn to ships, taxation now weighs with a heavy hand, and every dealer for himself says competition will ruin him. The baneful effects of taxation meet us then at every turn, and make healthy natural food poisonous. If relying on statesmanship we go on, untaught by experience, enlarging the sphere of government operations, and increasing its expenditure, leaving nothing to the good sense of our people, and trusting no foreign nation to regulate its own affairs, we shall counteract the natural causes of our maritime superiority, and our great trade, and ruin both by excessive fiscal burdens. On this question the shipowners are the last men we should listen to. Believing that the law has given our country a great mercantile marine, and still deluded by the high freights they obtained during war under heavy taxation, they fancy they can recover, by restrictions causing high freights, their share of the natural taxes from the rest of the community; and they are the zealous defenders of those enormous fiscal burdens, which more effectually ruin a

community then war or pestilence.

We trust that next session of parliament this important subject will be further investigated, and the principles of free-trade receive a further extension by the abolition of a law which is so ill suited to our condition, that with a little more than ordinary failure of the crops, it was from necessity suspended. The perpetual naval supremacy of our country is to be desired by every patriot; but it would inspire us with regret were it only to be achieved by laws injuring other nations. We might then wonder at the dispensation which placed humanity and love of country at variance. We establish societies to protect the wild aborigines of the forests of America and of the Islands of the Pacific, but they are not more worthy of our regard than the refined and civilised men of Europe, whose enjoyments, whose means of subsistence, whose progress in arts, in wealth, and science, we avowedly try to impede by navigation laws. If it be praiseworthy to protect those aborigines, it is criminal to injure Europeans. Jealousy of power, which grows by increase of traffic, is wholly unfounded, for it is a jealousy of our own power, or the power of an ally and friend. The progress of trade has indeed put down that feudal and despotic dominion, which, beginning in violence and crime, was as long as it lasted inimical to social welfare; and it is an unfortunate prejudice growing out of ancient political animosities, to entertain the same dread of the power which grows from friendly traffic, as of that which grows from political crimes. Such a prejudice, however, has made us, for ages, commit social wrongs on other nations. Unjust and mischievous laws are not the proper foundations for national supremacy. They might have been enacted by the wildest savages, and could have no better effect than the blind passions from which they sprang. Supremacy, to be lasting, must be founded on superior knowledge, on greater skill, on more assiduous and persevering industry, and on more foreseeing wisdom. It is to be secured by the virtues and talents of individuals, and not by laws that cherish ignorance, impede the increase of skill, and lessen the wealth and power of the community. Like the shipowners, we ardently desire the permanent naval supremacy of Great Britain; but navigation laws have not contributed to that end, and have counteracted the circumstances that tend to make her supremacy as permanent as nature itself.

Brief Aotices.

The Progress of the Nation in its various Social and Economical Relations; from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century. By G. R. Porter, Esq., F. R. S. A new edition. 8vo. pp. 846. London: John Murray.

THERE are few single volumes in our language to be compared with this. It is honorable alike to its author and to the community to which it is addressed. It displays immense research, and is distinguished throughout by a lucid and masterly arrangement. The views which it advocates are, with slight exceptions, correct; its philosophy is sound, and its sentiments are humane and generous. Few men could have produced such a work, and few people would have called for a second edition of it. In the preparation of this edition, no pains have been spared to maintain the well-merited reputation of the work. The whole has been thoroughly revised, and the information been brought down to the latest practicable period. 'This,' says Mr Porter, 'has proved a work of much labour, and required for its speedy accomplishment a greater portion of time than could be taken from the performance of other and more onerous duties.' We can fully credit this, and rejoice that the preparation of such a volume has been undertaken by a gentleman whose appreciation of its difficulties is equalled by his skill in surmounting them. The work is not new to the public, and we shall refrain from any extended analysis of its contents. It is already widely known, and it may suffice, therefore, to record, that it is divided into eight sections, which treat of the Population, Production, Interchange, Revenue and Expenditure, Consumption, Accumulation, Moral Progress, and the Colonial and Foreign Dependencies, of the Empire. Under each of these topics a vast mass of important and interesting information is collected, the whole of which is digested with masterly skill, and conveyed in a style at once clear, simple, and nervous. On the one point of education we are at issue with the author, who is a strenuous advocate for government interference. But, great as is our deference for his authority, we are compelled to dissent from his position on this subject. We have greater confidence in the expansiveness of private benevolence than he cherishes, and prefer waiting the slower but more healthful progress of this element, than to hazard the enormous evils which follow in the wake of government patronage.

Taken as a whole, 'The Progress of the Nation' is one of the best books in our language. It is alike indispensable to the statesman, the merchant, and the man of general information. It should have a place in every library, and be frequently consulted by all who would possess full and accurate knowledge on whatever pertains to

the progress and well-being of the commonwealth.

The National Cyclopædia of Useful Knowledge. Vol. II. 8vo. London: Charles Knight.

In noticing the first number of this work in our journal for May last, we described its general character and merits, and are glad now to report that its publication is steadily advancing. The present volume, which constitutes the second, proceeds as far as Bautzen, and its paper, type, and illustrations, fully bear out the promise of its enterprizing publisher. The popular mind is deeply indebted to Mr. Knight, and amongst his services the production of 'The National Encyclopædia' is entitled to rank very high. Such works have hitherto been restricted to the wealthy, and the learned. Their cost has placed them beyond the reach of others, and their contents have for the most part been too erudite for general readers. Penny Cyclopædia' was originally designed for a larger class, and it admirably accomplished much of its mission. Combining rare scholarship with a lentific accuracy, it exercised a generous confidence in the public .nind, and we are glad to report that such confidence was not misplaced. For the last twenty years our people have been rapidly advancing in the power to appreciate such a production, and now that it is brought within the means of thousands, it cannot fail to obtain an unprecedentedly wide circulation. We strongly recommend 'The National Cyclopædia' to all our readers. Its mode of publication facilitates its purchase, and every young man, making any pretensions to intelligence and general information, should instantly enroll himself amongst its subscribers.

Christian Privileges; or A View of the Peculiar Blessings appertaining to the Believer in Christ. By T. Lewis, of Union Chapel. Islington. London: John Snow.

This interesting and useful little volume is the last of a series which the respected author has published with a view to promote practical religion, and to strengthen the faith of the Christian in the promised blessings of the gospel. The volume is composed of seven Lectures previously delivered to the congregation at Union Chapel, to whom it is affectionately, and with much earnestness, dedicated. spirit of an aged pastor, deeply concerned for the welfare of his Charge, is conspicuous throughout these Lectures. They are the results of matured piety,—the utterance of a heart richly imbued with the unction of the gospel, and desirous of ministering to the consolation and improvement of others. We have perused the volume with much pleasure, and cordially recommend it as the closet companion of those for whose benefit it is designed.

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